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*The*
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Vol. 46 Spring Number, 1957 No. 1

# RACE STREET MEETING HOUSE 1856-1956

By RICHMOND P. MILLER*

The commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Meeting House located on Race Street west of Fifteenth Street in Philadelphia on Eleventh month 25th and 26th, 1956, marked the third of three notable historical occasions for Philadelphia Friends.

The first was held on Sixth month 4th, 1904. That was the centennial of the building of the Friends Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets. On a warm spring day "there met in and around the old Meeting House on Arch Street," built on land that had been deeded to our Society by William Penn, "about twenty-three hundred people" who came "to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of its erection." Jonathan Evans was chairman of the committee in charge of this event. A grandfather with the same name had been Clerk of the Yearly Meeting a hundred years before. "Meetings were held in both ends of the Meeting House in the afternoon. . . . Between the sessions the Friends indulged in social intercourse and partook of a supper in a tent erected in a plot to the south of the Meeting House."

* Associate Secretary of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Richmond Miller is Secretary of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and a vice-president of Friends Historical Association.

An outcome of the deliberations that preceded the meeting was the formation of the Friends' Historical Society. "The purpose of this movement was said to be the preservation of letters and other documents which would throw light on the history and customs of the Society of Friends. It is proposed to hold meetings for the reading of papers, and a series of publications will be entered into if sufficient good material is presented." [1]So that first Philadelphia centennial was not only a look backwards but resulted in a forward step—the founding of the Friends' Historical Society. Years later, that Society merged with the older Friends' Historical Association, established in 1873. To avoid confusion with the name of the British Friends' Historical Society the older name was adopted and the united organization came into being in 1923 as a truly national and international association.

A second anniversary was held on Seventh-day, Tenth month 26th, 1912. That was the one hundredth anniversary of the erection of the Twelfth Street Meeting House, located between High and Chestnut Streets on the west side. No book was published to record this commemoration, but here are some quotations from the report of the committee in charge, signed by William S. Yarnall, the chairman:

The weather fine.

Invitations had been sent to members of the three Monthly Meetings in the City and as many other interested persons as the Committee felt could be properly entertained.

The number invited—1,200.

In the afternoon William Yarnall opened the meeting by reading from Ephesians III: 14-20.

There followed reminiscences and sketches by Jane Bartlett, Joshua Baily, Joel Cadbury, Amelia Mott Gummere and an address by Isaac Sharpless.

614 persons were served in the Supper Room and a large tent erected on the north side of the Meeting House. The cost of the commemoration was $837, more than covered by ample provision authorized by the Meeting.

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[1] The record of this anniversary is a handsome book, now a collector's item, of which only five hundred numbered copies were issued. Published by The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia, it is *The Friends' Meeting House, Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia;* it is illustrated with a number of rare portraits and pictures of colonial meeting houses. The quotations above are from this book.

The Twelfth Street Meeting House had been completed in 1812 "agreeable to the conclusion of the Meeting." Meetings for worship were started there on First-day mornings and afternoons and on Fifth-day mornings. This new meeting house was designed to accommodate Friends in the western part of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, whence came the name "Friends of Philadelphia for the Western District." Although there is no evidence of any residue from that anniversary, there is one current fact that draws all of the central city meetings together. As of the beginning of 1956, the Twelfth Street and the Race Street Monthly Meetings merged into "Central Philadelphia Monthly Meeting." While there still are three central city meetings, there are now only two Monthly Meetings—Philadelphia and Central Philadelphia.

The third centennial of Philadelphia meeting houses and their service to the community was a two-day commemoration on Eleventh month 25th and 26th, 1956. On the First-day a rightly ordered meeting for worship was held at the accustomed time. It was followed by a truly remarkable experience when half a dozen Friends reminisced. While a supper was not served for either 2,300 or even 614, a goodly number did enjoy the refreshments provided by the Monthly Meeting. But this time the history of the meeting house had been written and published prior to the concluding event and was then ready for distribution. It is a first-rate historical study with appropriate illustrations. The author is a member of Central Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, Frances Williams Browin, and the title *A Century of Race Street Meeting House 1856-1956.*

Delving into our past has brought to light many fascinating discoveries. The first is about our name. Long before Race Street was Race Street, it was Songhurst Street, thus called for John Songhurst. He was on the ship *Welcome* when it came with William Penn to Philadelphia in 1682. Since Songhurst held title to large properties between Front and Third Streets, his was the first name given to this street. Later, when the names of trees were given to center-city streets, it became Sassafras Street. That name was continued until just prior to the building of the Meeting House, when the consolidation of the city government included naming and renaming of thoroughfares. "Sassafras Street led

directly to the Race-course [in Fairmount Park] and was used for speeding horses, and so lost its name, and now is known to us as *Race Street.*"[2] So it was not a mill race that gave the name to our street as in so many towns, but it was truly a racer's street.

Even more interesting is the original name for Fifteenth Street. When Philadelphia was first laid out, the streets were given numbers from the Delaware River westward and from the Schuylkill River eastward. On old maps, therefore, this Meeting House location is on *Sassafras* Street west of *Schuylkill Eighth* Street. One loves those old names, but it surely is more euphonious to be located at Fifteenth and Race rather than at Schuylkill Eighth and Sassafras. How fortunate, too, for it is also much more pleasant to be styled Racers than Sassafrassers!

In 1858 Caleb Clothier, Clerk of the Monthly Meeting, was "authorized to extract from the minutes and publish [in] a sufficient number of copies to distribute to our members" the report of the Committee on the Building of the New Meeting House on Race Street. It is a remarkable factual document telling the whole story of the collection of funds, the purchase of land, and the building of the Meeting House and School. It was a joint enterprise in which the Yearly Meeting also participated. What made the Meeting decide to build anew and relocate to the west of the then center of the city? There were five cogent reasons given for the desire to move away from the Fifth and Cherry Street Meeting House and build on new premises.

First, the *deterioration* of the neighborhood. This was surely foresighted, since from 1856 to the present the community where the old meeting house was located continued to change until it was almost in the very path of the approaches to the Delaware River Bridge. The building, converted into the Horstmann clothing factory, was completely torn down sixteen years ago. It was a huge building, about the same size as the Race Street house from east to west but only half the size in depth and not nearly as high.

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[2] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* IV (1880), 174. Still on the subject of names, a map contemporary with the building of the Meeting House indicates that the street just west of the Meeting, now plainly marked Mole Street, was then Temperance Street. How it got that name and why is a matter for further historical research.

It was one room, divided, with sliding partitions for the men's and women's meetings for business. Today there are no residences or public buildings where the old Cherry Street Meeting House was located.

Another factor was the *acoustics,* which evidently were a serious handicap during Yearly Meeting week when the building was crowded with women Friends. No wonder this new meeting house was designed consciously for acoustical satisfaction. It is one of the easiest houses in which to speak and is almost as noted for its acoustics as the century-old Academy of Music.

Then there was the *unsatisfactory ventilation.* Here was a major problem for all large buildings a century ago as central heating became the mode of the time. The records make it clear that it was much on Friends' minds:

> The proposition to build a new Meeting House for the use of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia, held at Cherry Street, was first introduced at a Preparative Meeting held at the Meeting House on Cherry Street below Fifth, on the 1st of 2nd. mo., 1854.
>
> The subject claimed the attention of a Committee appointed by the Preparative Meeting and was afterwards referred to the Monthly Meeting for its consideration. The proposal was generally approved, but way did not open to proceed that year.
>
> At the Yearly Meeting, held in the Fifth month, 1854, women Friends sent a communication to the men's meeting informing of their need of accommodations to hold their meetings with physical comfort, and stating that the want of ventilation rendered the atmosphere prejudicial to health.
>
> The subject was referred to the Representative Committee or Meeting for Sufferings, who were authorized in connection with committees that might be appointed by the three Monthly Meetings of the city, to provide such accommodation as should be deemed proper.

Fourth was the *floundering condition of the school* that had been established in 1845 by Mary Middleton and Benjamin Hallowell. In the three decades since the erection of the Cherry Street Meeting House, noisy business was making increasing inroads into the residential district, so that many Friends were moving westward even as far as Fourteenth Street (Broad Street) and beyond to Schuylkill Eighth and Schuylkill Seventh. This had a marked effect on the school, and the boys' department was entirely

closed for two years just prior to the decision to move both Meeting and School to this new site on Race Street.

Finally, the Cherry Street Meeting House was *simply inadequate.* The sessions of Yearly Meeting for women and men had to be divided between Fourth and Green and Fifth and Cherry. The shuttling back and forth of the messengers between the two meetings for business became intolerable. A larger meeting house was required not only for the Monthly Meeting but for the Yearly Meeting as well. And that is why the new building was conceived. And now abide these five reasons—but the greatest of these was *ventilation.*

Remember that this was a century ago, before antibiotics and not long after yellow fever epidemics. Friends wanted warm air but they wanted freshened air. The solution is one of the striking features of this building. High up on the walls is a series of louvers. Above, on the fourth floor above the meeting room, they converge into eight large wooden ducts. In turn these converge into a cupola at the very tiptop of the Meeting House. Just beneath it is a small square room and in the middle below the cupola is a heating stove, much like an old-fashioned kerosene-oil heater. But it is a gas heater!

Several architects have been consulted about this system of ventilation, also a well-known historian of architecture, a heating engineer, and the historian of the Independence Mall government restoration project. Not one of them had ever heard of this ingenious device. But they all remarked how natural and practical it was to use the convection principle in physics to stimulate the current of air to flow right out of the top of the Meeting House and at the same time to allow the intake of air from the grilles still found on the floor around the Meeting House. It is a modern and scientific approach to the problem raised by the women's meeting. The only similar construction in Quakerdom, most likely, is in the old Glastonbury Abbey near Wells, in Somerset, England, which dates back to the eighth century. The famous Abbot's Kitchen there was the first building used as a Friends meeting house in all England in the seventeenth century. It has a well-known cupola that obviously was used for convection ventilation.

But now listen to this news item from *The Philadelphia Morning Times* for First Month 27th, 1857: "Ventilation is effected by flues over each gas bracket, leading into the main ventilator over the dome, and then is discharged into the cupola on the roof." There is our clue. It is from a news article on the opening of the Academy of Music ninety-nine years ago. Why were those louvers battened down at some time in the past? Could not the ingenuity of modern property committees install a modern electric fan and open up those louvers for present-day ventilation?

One of the characteristics of the Race Street Meeting House has always been its service to the whole community. Here is located not only the Monthly Meeting but also the Yearly Meeting offices. For many years its school, Friends Central, established by the three city Monthly Meetings was also located in the rooms on the second, third and fourth floors of the house and adjoining buildings. It was natural for The Whittier to be built next to the Meeting House. Here are held First-day meetings for worship, weekday meetings for worship, conferences, committees, meetings. Here is our central circulating library, maintained by the Monthly Meeting, the Yearly Meeting, and the several committees of the Yearly Meeting. The smaller meeting room on the Cherry Street side of the building, used by the men for their Yearly Meeting business sessions until 1924, has now been converted into a charming social room for large gatherings, for offices and reading room.

Race Street Meeting House in its first century has lived up to the vision Friends had for it when it was built in 1856.

# THE WRIGHTSBOROUGH QUAKER TOWN AND TOWNSHIP IN GEORGIA

By Alex M. Hitz*

In order to understand the Quaker migration into Georgia, some knowledge of early geography and political history is necessary. From 1733 until June 1773, the northern boundary and frontier of the English possessions was the Little River; all land north of that river was the Creek and Cherokee Nations' hunting ground. The boundary line ran from Augusta about twenty-two miles northwesterly up the Savannah River to the Little River, a tributary, then about twenty-five miles westerly up Little River to Williams Creek, a tributary, thence southerly along Williams Creek. The territory embraced within those frontiers was known as the District of Augusta in the Colony of Georgia until 1758, then as the Parish of St. Paul in the Province of Georgia until the Revolution, then as Richmond County. Thereafter, the particular section in which we are here interested, lying south of Little River and east of Williams Creek, was cut off from Richmond County into Columbia County in 1790 and later cut off from Columbia County into McDuffie County in 1870. It is today known as the Wrightsborough (274th) Georgia Militia District of McDuffie County, and includes within its lines the dead town and township of Wrightsborough.

Settlement in Georgia by Quakers was contemplated by the original charter given by King George II to the Trustees, dated June 9, 1732. It was provided therein that "there shall be liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all persons inhabiting, or which shall inhabit or be resident in our said Province, and all such persons, except papists, shall have a free exercise of religion, so they will be contented with the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same." The only religious sect specifically named in the charter were the Quakers, for whom it was provided that in matters where oaths would be necessary, the officials would "admin-

* Head of the Surveyor-General Department of Georgia.

ister the solemn affirmation to any of the people commonly called Quakers." In all public laws and Acts passed both before and after the Revolution, whenever an oath was mandatory, Quakers were always expressly excepted and permitted to affirm.

In the years 1750 and 1751, the business of surveying and allotting lands in the colony had been delegated by the Trustees to the President and Assistants in Council. Before them on March 2, 1750, appeared Edmund Grey (also spelled Gray), who presented a petition setting forth that "he and many other persons called Quakers, inhabitants of Virginia, in the number of 30 families or thereabouts, were desirous to remove themselves, servants and effects into this Colony to settle; that many of them were of considerable substance and force and none would be any charge to the government; they therefore desired a tract of 20,000 acres of land might be granted on Savannah River between McBeans Branch and Broad River, about 30 or 40 miles above Augusta, which the said Grey, in behalf of himself and others, promised to improve to the best of their abilities."[1] The Board deferred action on this petition until the families should actually come into the colony. By February 1751 only Grey, John Young, David Hailey, John Ayres, George Tarr, Joshua Griffee and William Payne had arrived, and on February 27th they presented their petitions for allotments of land; however, only four allotments were made. Edmund Grey was allotted 500 acres in the fork of Savannah River and Little River on February 27,[2] and John Young was allotted 200 acres adjoining Grey on December 18.[3] On the latter date, George Tarr and William Payne received allotments for land in the Indian country fully twenty miles north of Grey and Young, who were at the extreme northeast frontier line. The land where Grey and Young settled so briefly is now covered by the backwaters of the Clark Hill Reservoir.

It was the custom of that day to give a name to any plantation of three hundred acres or over, and it is quite possible that Edmund Grey may have called his place Brandon. By reason of his political activity as a member of the lower House, in 1755 he incurred the

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[1] *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXV, 333-336.
[2] Records of Surveyor-General Department of Georgia.
[3] Ibid.

displeasure of Governor John Reynolds to such an extent that he and Young were forced to leave their holdings and flee to a no-mans-land on the Altamaha River between Georgia and Spanish Florida. It is interesting to note that although Governor Reynolds wrote of him as "a pretended Quaker who fled from justice in Virginia,"[4] his successor, Governor James Wright, wrote of Grey's pleasing personality and granted him a trading license in the Altamaha regions. The ambitious plans of Edmund Grey to organize a settlement of Quaker families in Georgia never materialized, and it is a certainty that there never was a settlement named Brandon, though historians have persisted in stating that there was.

No further action was taken by any Quaker until September 1, 1767, when Joseph Stubbs presented to the Governor and Council a petition of "sundry families, at present residents in Orange County in the Province of North Carolina but lately from Pennsylvania, setting forth that they were desirous to remove into and become settlers in this Province, and praying that a reserve of land for that purpose might be made for a certain time." The minutes for that day read:

> It is ordered that a reserve be made for the petitioners until the 1st day of February 1768, of 12,000 acres of land adjoining the Indian line from Little River; and in case ten families of them, by that time, come in, apply for and settle upon the said lands, then a further reserve shall be made of the residue of the said 12,000 acres until the 1st day of January 1769.[5]

Under the system of granting land then in force, the head of a family was allowed a number of acres based upon his headrights, that is, 200 acres for his own head, plus 50 acres for his wife's head, plus 50 acres for the head of each minor child, servant, or slave, but the total could not exceed 1000 acres. The average headright grant was of 300 acres and forty average grants to that many settlers would have totalled 12,000 acres.

On February 18, 1768 the Governor and Council took further action as follows, as appears by their minutes:

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[4] *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XXVII, 126.
[5] Ibid., X, 303.

Read a letter acquainting his Excellency that, in consequence of a reserve of 12,000 acres of land for sundry families (Quakers) in North Carolina, ten families of those people were arrived in the Province to take up and settle part of the lands so reserved, agreeable to the stipulation made on the 1st day of September 1767; Ordered that a further reserve of the residue of said 12,000 acres be made for those families, until the 1st day of January 1769.[6]

The first petition to the Governor and Council for a grant of land was presented on July 25, 1768[7] by Joseph Maddock for a tract of 200 acres for the purpose of building a gristmill. The petition was approved but his grant was not issued until April 2, 1771. A petition presented on August 2, 1768[8] and amended December 6, 1768 prayed for a grant of 500 acres for a community cowpen whereon to settle a stock of cattle, and on July 3, 1770 a grant for the cowpen property was issued to Joseph Maddock and Jonathon Sell in trust for the people called Quakers. This was the first and earliest grant issued for land in the township of Wrightsborough.

The settlement grew faster than was at first contemplated and the original reserve proved inadequate. Accordingly, Joseph Maddock and Jonathon Sell, who appear to have become the leaders of and spokesmen for the settlement, presented another petition to the Governor and Council on December 6, 1768, pointing out that seventy families had already arrived and settled and that more were expected. On that date the following five resolutions and orders were passed, namely:

(1) That the land on both sides of Germanys Creek to the head thereof, and from thence to continue the same course until it intersects the Indian line (not taken up by the people already come) be reserved for the same purpose for 12 months next ensuing;

(2) That a road be run from their settlement;

(3) That their lands be surveyed in the several tracts and proportions following, and grants for the same be passed and perfected to the respective persons hereinafter named, that is to say . . . [Note: here appear the names of 61 persons for whom 15,000 acres were to be surveyed; those names are included in the list appended to this article];

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[6] Ibid., X, 432.
[7] Ibid., X, 549.
[8] Ibid., X, 553, 694.

(4) That 1000 acres of land out of the said reserve be surveyed and laid out in a proper spot for a Town—to be called Wrightsborough; and that a plat of the same be certified and returned to the Clerk of the Council; (5) That the Secretary do prepare a warrant or warrants, accordingly.[9]

The exact date when the town of Wrightsborough was surveyed, pursuant to the above order in Council, cannot be determined, as the original map of survey has long been lost. However, it certainly was surveyed before July 3, 1770, as that was the date of the first grant of a town lot. It is interesting to note from the plat of a re-survey made in 1807[10] that the second surveyor "found a complete set of old lines and corners, all corresponding with each other, containing 672 acres, which is represented by the outside double lines of the following plat. The town occupies 191 acres of the land, leaving a balance of 481 acres for the Common. There appears to have been a separate survey, supposed to be 300 acres,[11] laid out on the north end of the Common, for the use of the Ministry." Originally there were 99 town lots, the grants for 82 of which are shown on the appended list, leaving 17 still ungranted at the outbreak of the Revolution. The town was so located that its southeast corner touched on Middle Creek (also known as Town Creek) which ran northerly into Little River. As of the 1807 survey, roads ran southeast to Augusta, north to Little River at a ford, northwest to Washington, west to Greensborough, and southwest to Warrenton.

The wagon road to Augusta, ordered on December 6, 1768, was completed by May 2, 1769[12] and it was shown and named as "Quaker Road" running southeast from Wrightsborough, on a map made in 1773 by the Deputy Surveyor-General of the

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[9] Ibid., X, 690-94.

[10] This map is in the Surveyor-General Department of Georgia. Photostats have recently been given to the Guilford College Library (Quaker Room) and the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

[11] There is a possibility that 150 acres of the said 300 acres may have been the tract granted to Ann Stubbs, widow of Joseph Stubbs, the original representative of the group before the Council, inasmuch as the word "Publick" was written at the top of the page on which her grant was recorded.

[12] *Colonial Records of Georgia,* X, 703, 763.

Province.[13] The route of the old Quaker Road is today followed for part of its route by State Highway No. 232 from Augusta to Appling. It was on this road that there was a stopping-place then known as Quaker Springs, but no longer to be found. An 1818 map showed it to be in Columbia County about nine miles west of Augusta. In July 1769[14] the Governor and Council ordered that a road be run out and marked to the vicinity of Louisville.

On twenty-two different occasions between 1768 and 1774 various petitions, orders, and other matters affecting the town and township of Wrightsborough were noted on the minutes of the Governor and Council.[15] Perhaps the most serious matters considered were the Indian depredations, because marauding bands continually stole their horses and cattle, with practically no protection given to the Quakers by the government. In fact, in 1769 there was such a total loss of stock that they could barely plant and cultivate any crops at all. From fear of the Indians, some twenty-five heads of families left the settlement in 1771, but of these thirteen soon returned. By 1772 their situation was so desperate that they proposed enlisting two companies of militia from their own number, but this offer was not accepted. During all of that period of five years the government appropriated only one hundred pounds for their protection, plus fifty pounds for a fort built in 1774.

One ambitious proposal which was made on March 12, 1773, to the effect that the township be made a separate parish, was laid on the table by the Governor and Council. Another matter which must have disturbed the community arose in December 1771 and January 1772. An excellent site for a sawmill, comprising 500 acres on Germanys Creek, was applied for by William Ayers and William Walker, both Quakers, and by William Candler, a non-Quaker friend of the Governor. Over the protest of the

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[13] The original of this map is in London, but an exact tracing is in the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

[14] *Colonial Records of Georgia,* X, 852..

[15] Ibid., X, 748, 749, 750, 814, 815, 816, 852, 941, 981; XI, 28, 86, 383; XII, 125, 142, 189, 371; XV, 125, 167, 421; XIX-1, 183, 193, 259, 490; XXVIII-2B, 767; XXXVII-2, 28. Georgia Historical Society, *Collections,* No. 6, p. 198.

Quakers by way of caveat, Candler received the grant even though this was a violation of the 1768 agreements. In 1772 the Secretary of the Province sent up a supply of mulberry seeds in order that trees might be grown, with a view to developing a silk industry, but that venture failed.

The town and township probably reached the peak of growth by March 1775. There were then one hundred twenty-four identified male Quakers holding grants to 30,650 acres of land in the township, and of that number eighty-two also owned lots in the town. The number of women and minors cannot be ascertained; however, large families were the custom of those days. But the political unrest of that year was already beginning to have its effect, so that when the Revolution came, some of the citizens had Loyalist sentiments and some had Revolutionary. In August and September 1774 when the residents of all of the Georgia parishes were drawing up resolutions condemning the attitude of the British government in its disputes with the New England colonies, one hundred fourteen persons in the parish of St. Paul signed their own resolutions condemning the actions of the other parishes.[16] Of those signing, thirty-eight were Quakers residing in Wrightsborough township. As they represented thirty per cent of the freeholders, the other seventy per cent must have been either favorable to independence or neutral.

With the outbreak of the Revolution the cleavage between the two factions became more marked. Between 1776 and 1782, the minutes of the Georgia Council of Safety, the Georgia Provisional Congress, and the British Governor and Council[17] showed various appointments of and dealings with Quakers by both sides. Militia companies for both armies were raised in the township, and the fortunes of war brought first one army and then the other into possession of the town. It was held by the Americans in 1777 and 1778, by the British in 1780 and 1781, and again by the Americans. The early leaders, Maddock and Sell, both then elderly, had

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[16] *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 27.

[17] *Colonial Records of Georgia,* X, 118; XXXVIII-2, 279, 280, 381, 422, 478, 505, 606, 614. *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 38, 207, 242; II, 104, 113, 115, 527, 528, 529. Georgia Historical Society, *Collections,* No. V-1, 78; V-2, 52, 54.

cast their lot with the British, but by the end of 1781 both were refugees from the town and receiving subsistence from them.

The dissolution of the settlement and the eventual migration to Ohio very probably began at the close of the war, because throughout the state those who had been active on the Tory side or non-cooperative with the American side became extremely unpopular. With each year Wrightsborough more and more lost its identity as a purely Quaker settlement and became a community of all denominations. Civil jurisdiction over the town and township, which had become a militia district in the County of Richmond, vested in the State government. On February 16, 1799 the Legislature appointed Commissioners for the Town and Common,[18] of whom only one was a Quaker, and when it appointed new trustees for holding title to the cowpen property on December 6, 1799, not a single Quaker was included.[19] The last remaining Quakers left the settlement about 1803.

The town continued to decline until about 1840, when it finally became one of the "dead towns" of Georgia. On today's maps Wrightsborough marks the crossing of two county roads, located about midway between the cities of Thomson and Washington and about three miles westerly from U.S. Highway 78. The house where meetings were held is gone; the graves in the Quaker burying ground can be identified only by a few rows of unmarked fieldstones in a wild thicket of third-growth timber.

By this time the reader has probably begun to wonder why those eminent Quaker historians Stephen B. Weeks and William W. Hinshaw have neither been cited nor quoted. The fact is that they relied on Georgia historians—and not a single Georgian has ever written correctly about Wrightsborough and the Quakers there. Three absolutely erroneous statements have been repeated over and over again without the slightest verification. It was Hugh McCall who in 1816 *(History of Georgia)* originated the story of a Quaker settlement at Quaker Springs; J. W. G. deBrahm who in 1772 *(History of the Province of Georgia)* created and Charles C.

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[18] Horatio Marbury and W. H. Crawford, ed., *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia* (Savannah, 1802), p. 131; R. and G. Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia* (Philadelphia, 1800), p. 737.

[19] Marbury and Crawford, p. 393; Watkins, p. 779.

Jones who in 1878 *(Dead Towns of Georgia)* repeated the myth of a settlement called Brandon; and William Bartram who in 1773 *(Travels)* misstated and George White who in 1849 *(Statistics of Georgia)* so completely garbled the story of the Wrightsborough settlement. In the light of pure fact as taken from official records, all that has heretofore been written and published should now be forgotten. The most often repeated statement about a forty-thousand acre grant to Joseph Maddock, who created a town thereon, should be considered as purely imaginary.

The following list shows all grants issued to Quakers from 1770 through 1774. The surveying of and settlement on the various farms and town lots began as early as 1768. In some instances the time lag between settlement, surveying, and granting was as much as two years, due very probably to the hardships and difficulties of the journey between Wrightsborough and Savannah, the seat of government. Except as specifically noted in the list, none but Quakers received grants in the town and township prior to the Revolution. Individual Quakers received grants totaling 30,650 acres in the township which, added to the 672 acres in the town, made a total of 31,322 acres settled upon. During 1774 and 1775 the Governor granted to himself and to certain favorites and members of his Council another 11,967 acres, but in all probability that remained uncultivated, vacant land.

## GRANTS IN TOWN AND TOWNSHIP OF WRIGHTSBOROUGH

| Name | Town Lot Number | Acreage in Twp. | Date of Grant | Book & Page of Record |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ansley, Benjamin | | 100 | 11/ 1/1774 | M 619 |
| Ansley, Thomas | 28 | 200 | 11/ 6/1770 | I 195 |
| " " | | 100 | 7/ 7/1772 | I 689 |
| Ashfield, Henry | 70 | 350 | 7/ 3/1770 | I 114 |
| Ashmore, Frederick | | 100 | 6/ 7/1774 | I 1059 |
| Austin, Richard | 3 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I 115 |
| Baldwin, David | | 200 | 3/ 5/1771 | I 261 |
| Barfield, Solomon | | 100 | 11/ 1/1774 | M 630 |
| Beck, George | 59 | 150 | 7/ 3/1770 | I 116 |
| Biggot, Elisha | | 100 | 6/ 7/1774 | I 1093 |
| Bishop, James | | 100 | 6/ 7/1774 | I 1066 |
| " " | | 250 | 12/ 6/1774 | M 775 |
| Boggs, Joseph | | 100 | 1/19/1773 | I 843 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bowie, James | | 100 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 282 |
| Bryan, John | | 100 | 8/ 4/1772 | I | 707 |
| Burkes, John | | 200 | 7/ 7/1772 | I | 688 |
| Burns, Andrew | | 50 | 1/ 3/1775 | M | 854 |
| Carson, John | 95 | 450 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 118 |
| " " | | 150 | 7/ 7/1772 | I | 697 |
| Castell (Castle), Jacob | | 200 | 6/ 7/1774 | I | 1050 |
| " " " | | 100 | 2/ 7/1775 | M | 986 |
| Cloud, Joel | 9 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 119 |
| " " | | 100 | 4/ 7/1772 | I | 547 |
| Coats, James | | 200 | 6/ 7/1774 | I | 1089 |
| Cobbs, James | | 200 | 12/ 6/1774 | M | 782 |
| Cochrane, Cornelius | 78 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 117 |
| Cooper, Isaac | | 200 | 6/ 7/1774 | I | 1021 |
| Daniel, William | | 300 | 3/ 7/1775 | M | 1070 |
| Davis, John | | 100 | 6/ 7/1774 | I | 1084 |
| " " | | 100 | 11/ 1/1774 | M | 649 |
| Day, Stephen | 61 | 200 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 120 |
| Denison, Patrick | | 150 | 7/ 7/1772 | I | 674 |
| Dennis (Dannis), Abraham | 29 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 122 |
| Dennis, Isaac | | 100 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 304 |
| Dennis, Jacob | 19 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 123 |
| " " | | 100 | 4/ 7/1772 | I | 548 |
| Dennis, John | 16 | 150 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 124 |
| " " | | 150 | 6/ 7/1774 | I | 1012 |
| Dover, John | 74 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 616 |
| Dunkin, John | | 300 | 6/ 7/1774 | I | 1037 |
| Dunn, Benjamin | 75 | 150 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 121 |
| Dunn (Dun), John | | 100 | 10/ 6/1772 | I | 762 |
| Eckles, Edward | 96 | 200 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 127 |
| " " | | 100 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 308 |
| Elam, William | 25 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 125 |
| Emitt, James | 26 | 200 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 126 |
| Farmer (Fanner), William | 21 | 550 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 128 |
| Flemen, David | | 100 | 10/ 4/1774 | M | 440 |
| Gray, Isaac | | 100 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 311 |
| Greathouse, Jacob | | 100 | 1/ 3/1775 | M | 876 |
| Green, Isaac | | 100 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 310 |
| Hart, James | 76 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 129 |
| Hart, Peter | 1 | 100 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 196 |
| " " | | 100 | 7/ 5/1774 | M | 49 |
| Hart, Samuel | 52 | 100 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 197 |
| " " | | 100 | 4/ 7/1772 | I | 558 |
| Hartshorn, John | | 100 | 10/ 4/1774 | M | 560 |
| Hill, James | 49 | 100 | 4/ 2/1771 | I | 301 |
| Hill, John | 47 | 200 | 4/ 2/1771 | I | 300 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hixxon, William | 30 | 400 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 132 |
| Hodgin, John | 85 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 131 |
| Holliday, Ambrose | 88 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 617 |
| Hollingsworth, Joseph | 57 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 930 |
| Howard, Benjamin | | 100 | 1/19/1773 | I | 858 |
| Howard, John | 45 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 130 |
| Howell, James | | 100 | 12/ 6/1774 | M | 816 |
| Hunter, John | 15 | 200 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 198 |
| Jackson, Absalom | 17 | 200 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 133 |
| Jackson, Benjamin | 51 | 250 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 199 |
| Jackson, Isaac | 89 | 350 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 134 |
| Jackson, Nathaniel | | 100 | 2/ 7/1775 | M | 1008 |
| Jackson, Thomas | 31 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 135 |
| Jackson, Walter | 86 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 620 |
| Jones, Francis | 22 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 931 |
| " " | | 200 | 6/ 7/1774 | I | 1025 |
| Jones, John | 79 | 200 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 927 |
| Lee, John | | 400 | 10/ 1/1771 | I | 432 |
| " " | | 100 | 12/ 6/1774 | M | 806 |
| LeMarr, William | | 200 | 7/ 5/1774 | M | 61 |
| Lockridge, Robert | 20 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 137 |
| Low, Isaac | 68 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 136 |
| " " | | 250 | 3/ 5/1771 | I | 269 |
| Lynn, Thomas | 82 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 619 |
| Lynn (Linn), William | 65 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 618 |
| McClen, Robert | 64 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 141 |
| McFarland, James | 50 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 145 |
| " " | | 200 | 9/ 3/1771 | I | 416 |
| McFarland, William | | 100 | 12/ 3/1771 | I | 480 |
| " " | | 150 | 7/ 5/1774 | M | 67 |
| Maddock, Joseph | 66 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 138 |
| " " (gristmill) | | 200 | 4/ 2/1771 | I | 302 |
| " " | | 100 | 6/ 7/1774 | I | 1013 |
| " " & Vernon, Isaac | | 1100 | 2/ 7/1775 | M | 1018 |
| " " & Sell, Jonathon as Trustees (cowpen) | | 500 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 147 |
| Mathews, Oliver | 6 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 928 |
| Middleton, Holland | 81 | 400 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 929 |
| Middleton, Holland, Jr. | 38 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 144 |
| Miles, Daniel | | 150 | 12/ 6/1774 | M | 809 |
| Miles, William | 71 | 200 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 200 |
| Mitchell, William | 43 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 140 |
| Mooney, Joseph | 27 | 550 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 142 |
| Moore, John | 5 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 143 |
| Moore, Mordecai | 7 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 146 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Moore, Richard | 46 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 356 |
| " " | 42 | 200 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 201 |
| Moore, Thomas | 72 | 200 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 355 |
| Murphey, Edward | 41 | 150 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 139 |
| Oliver, Alexander | 60 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 148 |
| Oliver, James | 36 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 151 |
| Oliver, John | 11 | 350 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 150 |
| Oliver, Samuel | 91 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 149 |
| Owen, Ephraim | 34 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 152 |
| Pace, Silas | | 100 | 11/ 1/1774 | M | 718 |
| Parvey, Dial | | 200 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 368 |
| Perkins, John | 14 | 150 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 153 |
| Perkins, Peter | 48 | 500 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 202 |
| Robinson, David | | 150 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 394 |
| Robison, Israel | | 100 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 404 |
| Samson, Samuel | 83 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 358 |
| Sell (Sall), Henry | 8 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 357 |
| Sell, Jonathon | 23 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 156 |
| Sell (Sall), Jonathon | 24 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 158 |
| Sergison, Patrick | | 200 | 10/ 6/1772 | I | 774 |
| Sidewell (Sidwell), John | 56 | 300 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 157 |
| " " " | | 100 | 1/19/1773 | I | 883 |
| Slater, John | 67 | 400 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 154 |
| Slater, Mary | | 200 | 6/ 2/1772 | I | 624 |
| Smith, John | | 100 | 3/ 7/1775 | M | 1091 |
| Smith, Richard | 33 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 159 |
| Stewart, John, Jr. | 4 | 100 | 4/ 2/1771 | I | 303 |
| Stubbs, Ann | 54 | 150 | 1/ 7/1772 | I | 502 |
| Stubbs, Deborah | 69 | | 1/ 7/1772 | I | 503 |
| Stubbs, John | 2 | 450 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 155 |
| " " | | 150 | 7/ 7/1772 | I | 695 |
| Stubbs, Nathaniel | | 100 | 12/ 6/1774 | M | 830 |
| Thompson, John | | 100 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 380 |
| Vernon, Amos | 18 | 200 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 160 |
| Vernon, Isaac | 10 | 350 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 161 |
| Walden, Robert | 12 | 100 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 205 |
| Watson, Jacob | 63 | 100 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 203 |
| " " | | 100 | 4/ 7/1772 | I | 575 |
| Watson, John | 87 | 100 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 204 |
| " " | | 100 | 4/ 7/1772 | I | 574 |
| Watson, Thomas | 32 | 500 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 164 |
| Welch (Welsh), John | 62 | 100 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 165 |
| Wheat, William | | 200 | 10/ 1/1771 | I | 445 |
| Whigham, Thomas | | 250 | 7/ 5/1774 | M | 138 |
| Whitsett, John | 73 | 200 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 162 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whitsett, John, Jr. | 35 | 250 | 7/ 3/1770 | M | 3 |
| Wilson, Samuel | 13 | 200 | 7/ 3/1770 | I | 163 |
| Winslete, Samuel | 94 | 100 | 11/ 6/1770 | I | 206 |
| 125 Grantees | | 30,650 acres | | | |
| Town and Common | | 672 | | | |
| | | 31,322 | | | |
| Candler, William (non-Quaker) | | 500 | 7/ 7/1772 | I | 684 |
| Graham, John (member of Council) | | 1500 | 10/ 4/1774 | M | 442 |
| " " " " | | 1000 | 10/ 4/1774 | M | 443 |
| " " " " | | 650 | 1/ 3/1775 | M | 881 |
| Houstoun, Patrick (member of Council) | | 500 | 10/ 4/1774 | M | 451 |
| Howard, John & Few, Benjamin (non-Quakers) | | 1000 | 10/ 4/1774 | M | 558 |
| Hume, James (member of Council) | | 500 | 11/ 1/1774 | M | 664 |
| Johnson, Lewis (member of Council) | | 513 | 10/ 4/1774 | M | 563 |
| McKay, James (member of Council) | | 1000 | 11/ 1/1774 | M | 711 |
| " " " " | | 500 | 3/ 7/1775 | M | 1085 |
| Wright, James (Governor) | | 1519 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 382 |
| " " " | | 1285 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 383 |
| " " " | | 500 | 9/ 6/1774 | M | 384 |
| Young, Thomas (member of Council) | | 1000 | 10/ 4/1774 | M | 612 |
| | | 11,967 | | | |

# THE DREISER-JONES CORRESPONDENCE

Edited by GERHARD FRIEDRICH*

Relationships between creative personalities are always interesting, and often they are rewarding subjects for scholarly investigation. This is particularly true when the persons involved are actually or supposedly so different that any evidence of intimate connection between them comes as a surprise, and when the documentary proofs are widely scattered. The relationship between Theodore Dreiser, the massive Naturalist, and Rufus Jones, exponent of Quaker mysticism and ethical social action, is a curious case in point.

Initially, the distinct concerns of Dreiser and Jones touched merely because of another's sense of political expediency with regard to the issues and problems raised by the Spanish Civil War. Upon his return to the United States in August 1938, from a visit to embattled Barcelona,[1] Dreiser had called on President Roosevelt with a plan for aid to the hard-pressed Spanish Loyalists, and had been persuaded by the President to attempt the formation of an impartial committee of prominent citizens representing various creeds, with the purpose of sponsoring civilian relief in both Loyalist-Republican and Franco-Nationalist territory.[2] It was in this cause that Dreiser made an appointment to see Rufus Jones, then Chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, at his home on the Haverford College campus. Dreiser's communication requesting an interview and also Jones's reply are apparently lost, and neither of the two men left a direct and detailed account of

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[1] See *The New York Times,* July 31, 1938, p. 25, and August 22, 1938, p. 3.

[2] See Helen Dreiser, *My Life with Dreiser* (Cleveland and New York, 1951), p. 261, and Robert H. Elias, *Theodore Dreiser: Apostle of Nature* (New York, 1949), p. 270. The Dreiser-Roosevelt correspondence, which includes several references to Rufus Jones, is in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N. Y.

what occurred during their Haverford meeting in September 1938. Dreiser's secretary, Harriet B. Hubbard, has, however, recalled the circumstances of the Dreiser-Jones visit as follows:

> We drove down to Haverford, and I think it must have been September . . . . I remember vaguely that the college was not in session, so it must have been before the autumn session starts. . . . We had made an appointment to meet Mr. Jones. . . . It was at his house that Dreiser called, and I remember that I left him there and went off to do something and then came back and got him about a couple of hours later. I remember that Dreiser was very much impressed by Mr. Jones, especially by his vitality and comprehensive way of looking at things, especially striking in a man who was quite old. I remember we had a long argument as to whether this was due to Mr. Jones' saintly habits, etc., etc.[3]

The Haverford meeting between Theodore Dreiser and Rufus Jones had certainly two, interrelated results. In the first place, Dreiser secured immediately the active help of Jones in behalf of the projected Spanish relief committee to the extent that, on September 19, 1938, the two men called jointly at Nelson A. Rockefeller's New York office,[4] and worked together also to enlist the support of other public figures. In the second place, the impact of Jones's personality upon Dreiser was such that Dreiser continued to address himself to the man, his development, and his thought until his own death in 1945. Indeed, Jones was to Dreiser a fascinating phenomenon, highly esteemed and soon so diligently explored that his Quakerly image came to provide not only the stimulus, but also the animus, long needed to carry Dreiser's abandoned Philadelphia Quaker novel to its completion under the title *The Bulwark.*

## I

Dreiser's original request for an interview with Rufus Jones and Jones's affirmative reply must both have been dated September 1938, since they were an outgrowth of Dreiser's talk with

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[3] Hubbard to Gerhard Friedrich, June 23, 1953, in the Treasure Room, Haverford College Library.

[4] See Rockefeller to Jones, September 20, 1938, in the Rufus Jones Collection, Haverford College Library; and Jones to Rockefeller, September 23, 1938, carbon copy in the American Friends Service Committee files, Haverford College Library.

President Roosevelt earlier that month. Following Dreiser's visit to Haverford and the unsuccessful Rockefeller solicitation referred to above, the correspondence between Jones and Dreiser was at first chiefly concerned with potential members for the Spanish relief committee sought by the President.[5] But within a few weeks, even as Dreiser began to lose confidence in the fruitfulness of his undertaking, there intruded into his relationship with Jones personal, literary, and philosophical elements important beyond the Spanish relief phase of Dreiser's intensely human concerns. On December 1, 1938, in a letter which detailed his difficulties with regard to the proposed Spanish relief committee, Dreiser suddenly remarked:[6]

Incidentally I have been reading several of your books—the second volume of The History of Friends[7] and two other Finding The Trail of Life books,[8] all of which I have found very interesting. The one book that I have been unable to get is the one entitled Finding The Trail of Life in College.[9] I applied to McMillan's [sic] for that and they said it was no longer in stock. Then I left an order for it with Schulte's Book Store in New York, one of the best agencies for recapturing out of print works, but although they have had two weeks I have had no word. I wonder if you know where I can either buy or borrow a copy.[10] As you know I am very much interested in the Quaker ideal. Like yourself I rather feel that it is the direct road to—not so much a world religion

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[5] See Jones to Monsignor John Augustine Ryan, September 20, 1938, and Jones to Dreiser, October 4, 1938, carbon copies in the American Friends Service Committee files, Haverford College Library; and Dreiser to Jones, October 6, 1938, in the Rufus Jones Collection, Haverford College Library (a Jones telegram to Dreiser mentioned in this letter has not been located).

[6] In the Rufus Jones Collection, Haverford College Library.

[7] Apparently Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), II.

[8] Namely Rufus M. Jones, *Finding the Trail of Life* (New York, 1926) and *The Trail of Life in the Middle Years* (New York, 1934).

[9] I.e. Rufus M. Jones, *The Trail of Life in College* (New York, 1929).

[10] That Jones—as in his letter of April 30, 1943, below, with regard to one of his other books—replied by referring Dreiser to the Whittier College Library, is confirmed by the Librarian Marcus Skarstedt's letter to Gerhard Friedrich, October 10, 1953, in the Treasure Room, Haverford College Library.

as a world appreciation of the force that provides us all with this amazing experience called life.

A month later Dreiser's proposition had been carried into reality by the President himself. In writing to Jones in this connection, Dreiser again revealed incidentally a broader awareness and appreciation of the Quaker's vital role:

January 1939.[11]

Dear Dr. Jones:

After reading of Mr. Roosevelt's action in connection with both sides of the Spanish war,[12] I was anxious to acknowledge his services in the matter and wrote him the enclosed letter. I felt that you might care to see it.

I was also greatly interested by your visit to Germany and delighted to see how it worked out.[13] Certainly trying is the great thing.

Very truly yours,
Theodore Dreiser.

January 5, 1939.[14]

COPY

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

I was greatly gratified to read in the New York Times of your move in connection with the plight of the women, children and aged in Spain—the impartial relief you are providing.

After approaching you with the facts I did my best to enlist a really powerful and impartial committee. Without naming anyone I can assure you that twelve distinguished Americans of great wealth and influence, while they lauded the idea as a new humanitarian instrument destined not only to be useful now but in the future, nevertheless, because of the possibility of their being identified with either the Fascists or the Communists, declined to serve. Every one suggested some other. However, one of them actually worded the value of the idea this way: "The waste material alone of any competitive period will be plenty to alleviate the sufferings of the victims of any war or disaster, and from now on I think it will be used that way." I did not stop trying until Mr. Rufus Jones assured me that you were moving to do something through the Red Cross.[15]

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[11] In the Rufus Jones Collection, Haverford College Library.

[12] See *The New York Times,* December 30, 1938, p. 6.

[13] A delegation of Friends headed by Rufus Jones succeeded in getting permission from Hitler's government to aid the persecuted Jews. See ibid., December 5, 1938, p. 10, and January 3, 1939, p. 2.

[14] This letter was first published in Helen Dreiser, *My Life with Dreiser,* pp. 261-262.

[15] The Jones communication here referred to, apparently in answer to Dreiser's request for advice dated December 1, 1938, has not been found.

That you should have applied the mechanism of the plan suggested so accurately and effectively, and particularly in the face of the stalemate that any ordinary citizen was certain to encounter, makes still more clear to me the enormous value of a great executive in the Presidential chair at all times but most particularly in periods of stress and change.

I am deeply grateful to you. You did what I so much would have liked to do for you.

Very truly yours,
Theodore Dreiser.

How far, in the course of four or five months, Dreiser had moved from his preoccupation with the Spanish problem to a concern with Quakerism and its literature, was forcefully underlined by still another letter addressed to Jones. In connection with his quest for a copy of Rufus Jones's *The Trail of Life in College* Dreiser had in the meantime, on January 9, 1939, been led to address the students at Whittier College on the subject of Quaker writings, and had subsequently urged upon the Dean of the College that the 1871 edition of John Woolman's *Journal* with Whittier's introduction be revived for student use and general distribution.[16] In this perspective the somewhat mysterious letter which follows takes on added meaning:

January 27, 1939.[17]

Dear Dr. Jones:

I am sending two letters to you which I would like to have you look over.[18]

I can't tell you how much this interests, and I may say thrills me, because I feel that the Quaker Faith is the only true exposition, and, in so far as it is carried out, realization of Christianity in the modern world. However, when I say Christianity, I mean social ethics and equity introduced into life according to scientific principles as I now, at last, understand those to be. Of all things your books in their entirety should be used, as you know.

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[16] See Marcus Skarstedt to Gerhard Friedrich, October 10, 1953, in the Treasure Room, Haverford College Library; and Dreiser to S. A. Watson, January 20, 1939, in the Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library.

[17] In the Rufus Jones Collection, Haverford College Library.

[18] The two enclosures are missing and unidentified, but seem to have concerned the Dreiser-Watson exchange of January 20 and 25, 1939 —both in the Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library— about Whittier's edition of Woolman's *Journal*.

Don't bother to answer this letter. I merely wanted to urge you to move in the matter in so far as your much over-burdened life will permit. The world needs a revival of this kind and there is nothing else that it needs so much.

Affectionately and with admiration,
Theodore Dreiser.

While Dreiser was thus to a surprising degree accentuating his newly discovered affinities for Quakerism, he had kept in touch with John F. R(e)ich, Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee's Committee on Spain and also secretary of the President's Committee for Impartial Civilian Relief in Spain.[19] But when Reich referred to the recent fall of Barcelona—which foreshadowed the end of the Loyalist regime—as a factor which at long last promised to make the raising of relief funds in this country easier, and enclosed a copy of a letter from Franco's agent in the United States to emphasize the continuing and indeed increasing need for wheat shipments, the militant leftist in Dreiser was so disillusioned and embittered that he decided to part ways with the pacifist humanitarians. His reply to Reich's appeal for support unmistakably put an end to a quest which seemed at last clearly to have been marked by failure:

February 28, 1939.[20]

Dear Mr. Reich:

I have your letter of February 1 in regard to help for Franco's Spain.

The Loyalist cause was what I was most intensely sympathetic with when they were struggling for survival. I think the Embargo should have been raised and they should have had aid from a sister Democracy. Since they did not get that aid, or very little toward the last, I now feel that the Fascists should take care of their own.

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[19] According to the author's conversation with John F. Rich, July 31, 1953, the latter had at least one and perhaps two New York visits with Dreiser. In addition, the American Friends Service Committee files, Haverford College Library, contain the following correspondence: Dreiser to Reich, October 27, 1938; Reich to Dreiser, November 3, 1938, carbon copy; Reich to Dreiser, February 1, 1939, carbon copy; Dreiser to Reich, February 28, 1939.

[20] In the American Friends Service Committee files, Haverford College Library; carbon copy in the Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library.

At any rate I feel that any aid to a Fascist Government is a marked disloyalty to American Democracy.

Therefore I now prefer to put my energies toward issues closer to American Democracy.

Very truly yours,
Theodore Dreiser.

## II

When the Dreiser-Jones correspondence was resumed briefly in 1943, after a lapse of more than four years, and again two years later, in 1945, the previous acquaintance had become a springboard for specific literary purposes. That Dreiser was impressed with Jones's personality and attracted to his writings had of course been demonstrated even in the earlier, Spanish-relief-phase letters, but now Jones was appealed to directly as an authority on Quaker detail to be used in *The Bulwark*. It is rather symptomatic that Dreiser continued to think of Jones in terms of "temperament," and of Jones's Quakerism in terms of "social import," but his secretary's assertion, "We did talk about Rufus Jones. About what a magnificent soul he was,"[21] indicates that Dreiser also felt an affinity to Jones as a mystic. Here are the letters which formed the second, overtly *Bulwark* phase of the Dreiser-Jones relationship:

April 23, 1943.[22]

My dear Jones:

It is a long time since we undertook to impress the Rockefellers and the Catholic Church, but I not only have thought of you often but do think frequently of your temperament and your social import.

I happen to be writing a novel that involves Friends or Quakers, and I want to ask you this question: What educational institutions in the Philadelphia, New Jersey & Eastern Pennsylvania are[a] were either influenced or controlled by Friends between the years 1885 and 1900? The reason for the question is that I want to establish in my own mind, and possibly in the book, how liberal or illiberal (from the Sectarian point of

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[21] Marguerite Tjader Harris to Gerhard Friedrich, July 16, 1952, in the Treasure Room, Haverford College Library.

[22] In the Treasure Room, Haverford College Library; photostatic copy in the Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library. This letter is addressed to Rufus L. [sic] Jones, c/o Swarthmore [sic] College.

view) were these schools, if any. I am concerned only with Friends' schools or schools that were influenced by them in one way or another, which were in existence in that period within one hundred miles of Philadelphia. Friends' schools or colleges farther away do not interest me so much, although, if you will, you might name a few.

How are you? I hope strong and active.

When I think of you and contrast you with the average so called Christian, I am inclined to use language that your temperament would not countenance. But I still and always will hold you in my very highest esteem. Regards.

And all my best wishes—
Theodore Dreiser.
April 30, 1943.[23]

Dear Mr. Dreiser,

*Westtown Boarding School* was founded by the Society of Friends in 1799, located about 20 miles from Philadelphia, near West Chester. It has been the most important Quaker school in this part of the country ever since. *George School,* near Newtown, Bucks County, was founded 50 years ago by Hicksite Friends and it has had a notable career. They are both boarding schools. The *William Penn Charter School* was founded by William Penn in 1701 and has had a famous career as a day school for boys. *Friends Select School* and *Friends Central School* are two very important day schools, each for boys and girls, with a long history of influence. The *Germantown Friends School* is the largest in numbers of all Quaker schools in this part of the country, and it too has had a long history.

*Haverford College* was founded first of all as an advance school, in 1833 and became a full fledged college in 1856. *Swarthmore College* was founded by Hicksite Friends in the 1860s and was one of the first co-educational colleges in America. Until about 20 years ago Westtown School was extremely strict and strongly sectarian, but has now become thoroughly liberalized and admits non-Friends. All the other institutions in my list have been liberal for many years, and non-sectarian.

I shall be very much interested in your proposed novel. If you care to do so you could probably find a copy of my "Later Periods of Quakerism" in the Whittier College Library. It contains a long chapter on Quaker education.[24]

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,
Rufus M. Jones.

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[23] In the Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library; photostatic copy in the Treasure Room, Haverford College Library.

[24] I.e., "Friends in Education," *The Later Periods of Quakerism,* II 666-712. That Dreiser was already familiar with this volume is indicated in his letter to Jones, December 1, 1938, above. There is no evidence that he ever borrowed a copy from the Whittier College Library.

April 10, 1945.[25]

Dear Mr. Jones:

I would like to ask you a question in connection with the text of the book I am now writing.

I am writing about a mill-town section of the village of Segookit, Maine, and where I speak of "Christian *and* Quaker Americans," is this correct? In other words, are Quakers considered Christian or are they considered Deists? I know there has been much controversy on this subject in the past, but I would like to know if the following statements are correct.

"However the standards of these (mill-town) people, come by as they might have been, were looked upon as lower and socially more negligible than those of the Christian (Protestant) and Quaker Americans of Segookit, who in turn were considered as always beyond the reach of the minds and temperaments of these particular Canadians (mill-town people)."

And later, in my script:

"And this, in the eyes of the remainder of the community was truly a great ill which was to be fought by Friends *and* Christians (Protestants) alike."

(Of course the words in parenthesis are not in the script.)

And, are these two statements contradictory? "Friends and all Christians alike" and "Christian *and* Quaker Americans"?[26]

I will appreciate very much an answer from you on this point. And with kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,
Theodore Dreiser.

*I hope that all is well with you.*

April 13, 1945.[27]

Dear Mr. Dreiser,

What you have said in your text is all right, with the word Protestant. Quakers are profoundly Christian, but they do not quite properly belong in the Protestant lists. They have no creed, no sacraments and no order of ordination for ministers, which are all forms of Protestant sects. It would be well to say "Quakers and Protestant Christians." That would be historically correct. With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Rufus M. Jones.

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[25] In the Treasure Room, Haverford College Library; carbon copy and photostatic copy in the Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library.

[26] The corresponding passages in *The Bulwark* (Garden City, N. Y., 1946), pp. 34-35, omit such phrasing as would differentiate between Quakers and Protestants or Christians, but p. 151 makes the distinction: "no more Quaker than . . . Protestant or Catholic."

[27] In the Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library; photostatic copy in the Treasure Room, Haverford College Library.

The sporadic exchange of letters so long after Dreiser's abrupt break with the Friends-sponsored relief activities in Franco Spain, was proof positive that Dreiser's extraordinary regard for Jones the Quaker was in fact undiminished. Dreiser's reassuring comment: "I not only have thought of you often but do think frequently of your temperament and your social import," followed as it is by the apparently casual remark: "I happen to be writing a novel that involves Friends or Quakers," suggested moreover that the image of Jones was to figure prominently in *The Bulwark.* The questions referred to Jones implied certainly a much deeper questioning of Quaker ways. So it is interesting to note that Dreiser in his *Bulwark* days reportedly often remarked: "I wonder what Rufus Jones will think of it!"[28]

Theodore Dreiser did not live to know what Rufus Jones thought of *The Bulwark.* He died on December 28, 1945, and his novel was published posthumously in March 1946. A complimentary copy, inscribed by Mrs. Dreiser, was sent to Rufus Jones, autobiographical books. A few weeks later, it was announced that at the next meeting of the Library Associates of Haverford College, on May 19, 1946, Rufus Jones "will reveal some unpublished data about Theodore Dreiser."[31] Jones was one of several speakers at that meeting; presumably he cited on that occasion the Dreiser letter of April 23, 1943—printed above—and one major instance of *The Bulwark's* indebtedness to Jones's *Finding the Trail of Life,* namely the one pencil-marked in his complimentary copy of Dreiser's novel.[32] But Jones probably did not confine himself to

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[28] Marguerite Tjader [Harris], "Theodore Dreiser: An Interpretation," typescript deposited in the Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library, p. 297.

[29] Author's conversation with Elizabeth C. Jones, 1952.

who noticed to his surprise[29] and pencil-marked in it a long passage[30] which was almost verbatim copied from one of his own

[30] Pp. 19-20. The Jones copy is now owned by his daughter, Mary Hoxie Jones, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

[31] The Library Associates of Haverford College, *Bulletin,* 10 (May 1, 1946).

[32] This one example appeared soon after in print, incorporated in an article by Carroll T. Brown entitled "Dreiser's *Bulwark* and Philadelphia Quakerism," and the Dreiser letter of April 23, 1943, was editorially pub-

these two documentary contributions, each of which was a clue and has since proved merely a small portion of a substantial series. In a subsequent typescript version at least, he added the following critical comments on *The Bulwark:*

> It does not seem to me to be a successful novel. The author is interpreting a theory of life and action rather than creating persons who live and breathe and have authentic being. He never gets inside of this Quaker family or of a Quaker Meeting, and his characters remain too much like constructed frames for presenting the author's theories. We are all the time in the realm of ideology. He does not get the *feel,* the inner reality, of a genuine Quaker family with its depth and spiritual reality. It is an attempt to present a Quaker family in the Gilded Age, but it remains to the end not a real Quaker family, but one in which each member is part of an ideological pattern. The author is at his best in his account of the death of his main character—the father, with the returned prodigal Etta reading Woolman's Journal to him. One feels that this fine ending reveals a new stage in the author's life. Here he reaches a new level of insight and sees at last the deeper significance of life.[33]

This evaluation of *The Bulwark,* beginning in the negative and ending on a decidedly positive note, was the final act in the curious correspondence between Dreiser and Jones.

Though there are several ways of gauging the influence of Rufus Jones upon Theodore Dreiser, for all of them the correspondence provides the necessary frame of reference. Without it, for example, the crucial role of Jones in acquainting Dreiser with John Woolman and his *Journal,* so salient a factor in *The Bulwark,* could not have been appreciated.[34] The much greater indebtedness of that novel to Jones's own books, mentioned in the correspondence, is the subject of an additional study soon to be published.[35]

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lished as a kind of appendix to Brown's article. See BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, XXXV (Autumn 1946), 52-61, 62.

[33] Jones, "The Bulwark," typescript and manuscript versions in the Rufus Jones Collection, Haverford College Library.

[34] See Gerhard Friedrich, "Theodore Dreiser's Debt to Woolman's Journal," *American Quarterly,* VII (Winter 1955), 385-392, or the corrected reprint entitled *John Woolman Re-Discovered: The History of Theodore Dreiser's Debt to Woolman's Journal* (The John Woolman Memorial Lecture, 1954).

[35] Gerhard Friedrich, "A Major Influence on Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark,*" scheduled for publication in *American Literature.*

The correspondence itself, whether or not it can ever be fully reconstructed, serves to underline Dreiser's enormous complexity; it illustrates further his method of work; and it adds still another chapter to the long record of Quaker influences on American literature. It will eventually stand in significant contrast with the far more extensive and scintillating exchange of communications between Dreiser and H. L. Mencken.

# THE CONCEPT OF THE CHURCH IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

## (PART II)

By Emerson W. Shideler

### V. William Penn

William Penn, like Barclay, tended to speak more of a society than of a fellowship experience, but he did not make of the Church an institution existing in its own right apart from particular people who composed it. The Church in the general sense signified any assembly of people, with a two-fold use in the New Testament, Penn said. The Church in the first use signified "the body and bride of Christ," which included the regenerate of all generations. This was the perfect Church, washed clean of all sin, where Christ alone is head; it was the universal and catholic Church which was in no way capable of being convened into an assembly.[62] The other use of the term was to designate particular assemblies of adjacent and contiguous Christian believers, which companies were to be told of injuries and wrongs and whose judgment was to be acceded to by individual Christians. Penn used this twofold concept, of an invisible universal Church and of visible discrete groups, as an attack upon claims for a universal and visible Church.[63]

Penn meant by Church, in the second definition, "a company of people believing, professing, and practising according to the doctrine and example of Christ Jesus and his apostles,"[64] a group of people who lived by the principles of religion revealed in Christ. The Church was a voluntary association, "a company of people agreed together in the sincere profession and obedience of the gospel of Christ,"[65] implying that the motivation to bring

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[62] *Select Works of William Penn* (London, 1825), III, 106.
[63] Ibid., III, 106-7.
[64] Ibid., III, 136.
[65] Ibid., III, 101-2.

one into the group came from himself, rather than from some outside force, such as the Spirit of God working in one as it worked in others already in the group. Penn used this idea to deny the possibility that the Church could be the rule of faith for any individual, because it was the individual's own agreement with the group which brought him into it, and its nature as a group derived from the fact that several people had thus come together.[66]

Penn was concerned to restore the glory of God to its proper place in the lives of men and to free the Church from being tied to buildings and organizations which made pretentious claims as Christian but had no sense of the inward glory of the true Church. He put this feeling about the Church, rather than a formal definition of it, in the following passage which sets forth the difference between the true Church and the pretenders to that title among men.

> "The Spirit beareth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God;" Rom. viii, 16, and sons of the true church: not she that hath fatted herself with the flesh of the saints, and died her garments in the blood of martyrs, who hath merchandized in the souls of men; but of that church which is crowned with stars, and clothed with the sun, and has the moon under her feet. A church of light and knowledge, of understanding and truth, and not of implicit faith and blind obedience: one that tramples upon all sublunary glory; and not she that makes her pretences to religion a decoy to catch the empire of the world.[67]

The true Church in Penn's eyes was that group of sanctified followers of the Light who had come together in their mutual faith into a fellowship of believers. They exercised no control over one another, but were submissive to one another's judgment. They met together in simple places for their true glory was the Spirit of God shining forth in their lives.

## VI. William Rogers

For William Rogers the Church was those who are members of the body of Christ.[68] The qualification for membership in Christ's body was sanctification through the Spirit, and wherever

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[66] Ibid., III, 102.
[67] Ibid., III, 120.
[68] *The Christian-Quaker* (London, 1680), part 3, p. 55.

such people assembled, there was the Church.[69] This put the entire emphasis upon the nature of the people who composed the group, for Rogers was concerned to attack those tendencies in the Quaker movement which seemed to him to desert that emphasis for some external and more or less authoritarian definition. He attacked Barclay's idea that the Church was gathered in the belief and practice of certain doctrines and principles, with the insistence that nowhere had the body of Christ, the Church, defined those necessary doctrines and principles.[70] Similarly, he attacked any suggestion that formal assemblies of representatives from various Quaker meetings could be called the Church unless every attendant filled the qualifications of inner sanctification.[71] Such meetings had been held to deal with problems relating to the life of the movement, and he felt they had tended to legislate as the Church, which he felt they were not in truth.[72] Likewise, to believe as the Church believed meant to him an attempt to put an external bond upon men's freedom, in opposition to the fundamental—the Spirit which baptized into the body of Christ.[73] At the same time, Rogers said substantially what Penington had said, that the members have the same faith as the Church because the Church is the elect and the members are the elect by the power of the same Spirit working in all to produce the same result.[74] He qualified the similarity, however, by saying that "every Member of the Church doth *in some measure* Believe as the rest of the Members do,"[75] for there were diversities of faith and gifts. Hence absolute identity could not be expected, but the basis in each, bringing them into essential unity, was the same Spirit working in all. He felt that the strongest criticism he could make of these tendencies to define the Church visibly and externally was the fact that none of the Quakers had actually designated the limits of the Church except to say in general terms that the Quakers were the Church,

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69 Ibid., part 3, p. 73.
70 Ibid., part 3, p. 55.
71 Ibid., part 3, pp. 79-80.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid., part 1, pp. 23-24.
74 Ibid., part 3, pp.73-74.
75 Ibid.

by which Rogers meant, and felt the others meant, that among the Quakers there were those who were elect and it was these only who were in the true Church, for the Church signified the elect. But this definition still left one "without any certain Description who or where this Church is, with respect to *visible Persons;* since the *Elect* amongst them are not outwardly described."[76]

By restricting the Church to the elect, that is, to those who were sanctified by the Spirit, and by insisting that it came to visibility only when and where these persons are assembled together, Rogers attempted to guard Quakerism against tendencies to externalize and objectify the inner experience with which the movement had started. Actually, he reduced the Church, in what he considered the true sense, to complete invisibility, and denied to any visible group the authority which possession of the Spirit gave to the Church. This resulted because there was no basis external to the given individual by which it was possible to know if he were of the elect, hence qualified to be heard, or if he were not, to eliminate him from the group.

Rogers was confronted with the fact that a fellowship experience had become a movement with typical and habitual ways of doing things, which tended to assume that those patterns, having originated from an immediate experience of divine reality, could be taken to mark the presence of that same experience in other people. He actually went to the other extreme and said that the whole question was an inner, individual one which each person had to decide for himself. In his view, the Quaker group was an objective fact among men, and the Church was a real, invisible thing, but the two could not be identified on any basis which would not at the same time violate the basic nature of the Church.

### VII. The Church is Fellowship in the Spirit

The difference between Rogers and his fellows exhibits the tension within spiritual religion. On the one hand, the Church is a divine creation, a reality in the experience of its members, an organic unity in which the members are one body, with limits visible through the power of the Spirit. On the other hand is the assertion that the working of the Spirit is wholly invisible and cannot be comprehended within any visible association of men.

[76] Ibid., part 1, pp. 23-24.

One view tends to move towards formalism as the reality of the immediacy of the Spirit weakens. The other tends to individualism as the response to the Spirit is made solitary and incommunicable. Either movement loses the full glory of the Church as God's people called out by him through Christ inwardly known, as the first Quakers knew their fellowship to be. In the union of individual inward relationship to God and the welding of those individuals into a body greater than them all by the Spirit of Christ in their midst, is found the Quakers' "central dominating idea, the dynamic faith," which Rufus Jones calls "the organizing power and prophetic potency" of a religious movement.[77] In their life together they knew God himself, in the reality of Christ's Spirit in their midst. From that experience came their transformed lives and their call to declare his message to the world.[78] Without the support of the fellowship they could not have withstood the pressures to conform to conventional religious patterns. Similarly had they permitted the fellowship to become a purely interior thing by refraining from public assembly when commanded to do so, it soon would have become a solitary thing and so have died. Had Rogers been permitted to mark the path, the movement would have disintegrated as all sense of corporate integrity faded under the challenge of individual vagaries in the name of private leading of the Spirit. Had Barclay's words been taken too seriously the heavy hand of conformity would soon have smothered any leadings of the Spirit by imposing the pattern the leading must follow. Instead the principle of the seventeenth century asserted a tension in polarity in which the Spirit leads, but in leading creates a group within which response to the Spirit's leading must be tested. Without the leading the group congeals and dies. Without the group and its accustomed ways each is condemned to wait for the Spirit's instant leading in every decision, which is not freedom but the complete bondage of no pattern at all. In its formative period Quakerism escaped both these failings by creating a Church order under the title Society which kept the Spirit free by providing a regular order responsive to its leadings but capable of testing all claims to have received a leading.

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[77] *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), II, 961.
[78] Ibid., II, 988.

# Notes and Documents

## TWO QUAKER MEMORIALS FOR ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EDITED BY FREDERICK B. TOLLES

In the moving final chapters of his *Abraham Lincoln* Carl Sandburg described the universal sense of bereavement that swept over the American nation in the spring of 1865 when it heard of the sudden, tragic death of its President by an assassin's bullet.[1] Two Quaker memorials, one of them published here for the first time, convey something of the Quaker appreciation of Lincoln and add new bits of documentation to the story of the national mourning in 1865.

It has often been suggested that there was a special bond of sympathy between Abraham Lincoln and Friends.[2] The many communications which passed between them during the war reflected a remarkable mutual understanding on a religious level. Lincoln's correspondence with Eliza Gurney is well known.[3] Early in the war the Progressive Friends of Iowa had written to him approving of his Emancipation Proclamation and expressing the hope that "in the present perilous condition of the Nations life," he would "be favored to ask counsel of Him who holdeth the destinies of Nations in His hand." In reply Lincoln had written in part: "It is most cheering and encouraging for me to know that in the efforts which I have made and am making for the

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[1] *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (New York, 1939), IV, chaps. 74-76.

[2] See, for example, George B. Johnson, "The Quakerism of Abraham Lincoln," BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, XXVIII (1939), 63-67.

[3] The famous letter of September 4, 1864, in which he spoke of the poignant Quaker dilemma—"On principle, and faith, opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war"—is reproduced in facsimile in Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 of this BULLETIN.

restoration of a righteous peace to our country, I am upheld and sustained by the good wishes and prayers of God's people. No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor our highest wisdom is but as foolishness and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure."[4] On the basis of his correspondence his latest biographers have observed that "there is ample evidence . . . to show that he deeply sympathized with the Quakers and did indeed treasure their good wishes."[5]

Lincoln died on April 15, 1865. Five days later, as his body lay in state in the rotunda of the Capitol, Friends gathered in the Green Street Meetinghouse for their regular Monthly Meetings. The men's meeting appointed a committee consisting of William M. Levick, John M. Ogden, Franklin Shoemaker, Edward Townsend, and Jacob M. Ellis "to unite with women friends in preparing a suitable minute expressive of the feeling of the meeting on the death of our late president Abraham Lincoln." The women's meeting named Hannah T. Longstreth, Ann A. Townsend, Elisabeth Newport, Jane Johnson, Lydia Longstreth, and Abigail W. Ellis "to join men Friends in preparing a testimony to the moral and religious dignity of character, of our late lamented President."[6]

At the following Monthly Meetings, held on May 25, 1865,

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[4]Lincoln to Caleb Russell and Sallie A. Fenton, January 5, 1863, original MS in Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. This letter, together with the letter to which it was a reply (written on behalf of Prairie Grove Monthly Meeting of Progressive Friends in Iowa), is printed in the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,* ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1953), VI, 39-40.

[5]J. G. Randall and Richard N. Current, *Lincoln the President: Last Full Measure* (New York, 1955), p. 374. In "Quaker Documents in the Lincoln Collection," *Friends Intelligencer,* CV (1948), 467-470, Otto E. Neuberger quotes from eleven papers submitted by Friends to the President, found in the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection.

[6] MS Minutes of Green Street Monthly Meeting, 1854-73, p. 359; MS Minutes of Green Street Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1859-79, p. 111 (Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College).

the following minute, prepared by the committee, was read and adopted:[7]

The sad event of the death of the[8] worthy chief magistrate of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, who fell by the hand of an assassin on the 14th of 4th month 1865, has filled our hearts with sorrow, and we feel it right, in a society capacity, to express our appreciation of the many virtues which shone conspicuously in his character. And also to acknowledge the great loss sustained by the nation; by the Freedmen, who truly looked up to him as a father; by those still in bondage; and by us as a people.

We hold in grateful remembrance the consideration with which he regarded our conscientious scruples in relation to military enactments, and believe he did for us in this respect, all that his position allowed.

Yielding to the holy promptings of "Love to God and love to man," he was instrumental in measurably redeeming our country from the dark stain of Slavery; saying to the Bondmen "be ye free."

His integrity of purpose, christian charity[9] and acknowledgment of the Divine Spirit,[10] are forcibly expressed in his late "Inaugural Address," the closing paragraph of which is as follows—"With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are now[11] in; to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, and to do all that may achieve, and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

While we deplore the loss of so good and great a man, one who it would seem, because he "loved righteousness and hated iniquity," had been gifted in many respects "above his fellows," we remember the source whence wisdom is derived, and believe if we are sufficiently humbled to seek for it, in the confiding faith becoming a Christian People, "our house

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[7]MS Minutes of Green Street Monthly Meeting, 1854-73, pp. 361-362; MS Minutes of Green Street Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1859-79, pp. 112-113. I have followed the text in the men's minutes, correcting it here and there by the version in the women's minutes. I am indebted to Horace Mather Lippincott for calling this memorial to my attention.

[8]The version in the women's minutes reads "our."

[9]The women's version reads "kindness."

[10]The women's version reads "the immediate direction of the Divine Spirit."

[11]Here, as in other places, the quotations from Lincoln's Second Inaugural are not precisely accurate; the women's version is, however, more nearly accurate than the men's.

shall not be left unto us desolate" but in the Mercy and Goodness of our all-wise Providence, judges and councilors will be given and the future will be brighter than the past.

On behalf of the Committee

5 Mo. 6th 1865

JOHN M. OGDEN
JANE JOHNSON

Ten days later, Hicksite Friends convened at Race Street Meetinghouse in Philadelphia for their Yearly Meeting. On the third day of the sessions a concern arose in the women's meeting "to consider the propriety of offering an address to our President and Cabinet, expressive of our sorrow for the loss of our late lamented President, under such trying circumstances; our appreciation of his kindness to Friends, for extending all the leniency his office could admit, in respect to our consciencious [sic] scruples; and our thankfulness that so many of our fellow beings have been released from cruel bondage; also our sympathy with them in their bereavement, together with our fervent solicitude that they may be guided by Divine Wisdom in the regulation of government affairs; and that in the exercise of their powers, justice may be tempered with mercy."

A committee was appointed to join men Friends, if way opened, in preparing such an address. The members of the committee were Susanna M. Parrish, Mary H. Child, Deborah F. Wharton, Naomi Rittenhouse, Sarah Hoopes, Mary S. Lippincott, Elizabeth H. Eastburn, Rachel Ward, Jane Johnson, and Hannah T. Longstreth.[12] The men's Yearly Meeting united with the concern and appointed a committee consisting of the following: Samuel J. Levick, John J. White, James Mott, George Truman, Henry W. Ridgway, Nathaniel Richardson, Clement Biddle, Aaron B. Ivins, Richard Moore, and Ezra Michener. The joint committee prepared an address, which was accepted on the last day of the Yearly Meeting, May 19, 1865. It reads as follows:

*From the yearly meeting of Friends, of Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and parts of Maryland, now in session.*

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[12] MS Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, 1855-81, pp. 125-26 (Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College).

Fifth Month, 19th, 1865.

*To the President of the United States and members of the administration:*

We have felt constrained, as a religious body, to convey to you the expression of the deep sympathy that we feel in the great sorrow that has fallen upon all of us in the bereavement sustained by the violent removal from this life of our late beloved President, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

We feel greatly thankful that his heart was imbued with a regard for conscientious scruples in relation to war, and for the relief that he extended to us therein.

While we mourn the destruction of human life, and the sad consequences ever attendant upon a state of war, and while we cannot regard carnal warfare as pertaining to the kingdom of Christ, we desire to impart to you our heartfelt rejoicing that millions of our fellow-beings have, by the power of Him who overrules the purposes of men, been released from cruel bondage.

As "righteousness exalteth a nation," we fervently hope that the great principles of equality and justice may ever be recognized in the future of our beloved country, and we would express our solicitude that in the performance of the momentous duties that now devolve upon you, your reliance may be upon God for wisdom, and that justice may be so tempered with mercy that your counsels may be influenced for the good of all.

Signed by direction and on behalf of the meeting aforesaid:

DILLWYN PARRISH,
*Clerk of the Men's Meeting*
MARY S. LIPPINCOTT,
*Clerk of the Women's Meeting*[13]

This letter was only one of hundreds of expressions of condolence that flowed into Washington during the weeks that followed the assassination. Letters came from all over the world—from heads of governments, legislative bodies, and municipal councils, from churches, lodges, and universities, from labor unions, temperance societies, and fire companies. They came from Turkey, from Russia, from Denmark, from Japan, from Hawaii, from Venezuela—from the American residents of Valparaiso and Lima, from Prince Kung of China, from the teachers in the Ragged School of Bristol, England, from the Men's Gymnastic Union of Berne, Switzerland, from the Polish and Hungarian refugees in

[13] MS Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Men Friends, 1859-74, pp. 102-103, 104, 105-106.

Melbourne, Australia, from the Zouave Cadets of Albany, New York, from the colored inhabitants of Santa Fe, New Mexico. The address from the Hicksite Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was the only official communication from any organized body of Friends.[14]

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[14] By order of Congress all the letters received were published in a huge volume entitled *The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Late President of the United States of America, and the Attempted Assassination of William H. Seward, Secretary of State, and Frederick W. Seward, Assistant Secretary on the Evening of the 14th of April, 1865: Expressions of Condolence and Sympathy Inspired by These Events* (Washington, 1867). The letter from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting appears on pp. 910-11. Copies of the volume were presented to all the groups which had written letters. One such copy was received by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting with a covering letter from Secretary of State Seward. James R. Frorer kindly called this volume to my notice.

# Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete, but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 774 Millbrook Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Francis Charles Anscombe, 65 Park Boulevard, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. "I Have Called You Friends": The Story of the Quakers in North Carolina.

Maurice H. Bailey, 17, Windale Road, Knighton, Leicestershire, England. The Contribution of Quakers to Some Aspects of Local Government in Birmingham, 1828-1902. (Deals with Quaker members of the Town Council and with seven Quaker Mayors.) University of Birmingham: thesis for M.A. degree. 1952.

Hugh Barbour, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. The Spiritual Warfare of the Early Quakers. (The inward and outward struggle against evil and pride and its relationship to Quaker preaching of a world-wide message.) Yale University: Religion, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1952.

William F. Clifford. James Logan, colonial statesman, scientist and scholar. Columbia University: History, thesis for M.A. degree. 1955.

Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. The History of American Philanthropy. (A large-scale study which will probably embrace many Quaker philanthropies, including the American Friends Service Committee.)

Laurence Darton, 95 Merton Hall Road, London, S.W. 1, England. An account of the work of the Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens, first known as the German Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends, 1933-1950. 1954. Copy in Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

Eddie L. Dwyer, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. The Principle of Authority in the Theology of Rufus Jones. Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas: thesis for Th.D. degree. 1951. Microfilm copy in Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

Ormerod Greenwood, 11 Clifton Hill, London, N.W. 8, England. Friends Abroad. (The overseas service of London Yearly Meeting, 1850-1950.) Publication planned in 1958.

T. Canby Jones, Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio. George Fox's Teaching on Redemption and Salvation. (A theological analysis of Fox's message in its soteriological and Christological aspects.) Yale University: Religion, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1956. Completed.

William Nigel Kerr, Gordon Divinity School, Beverly Farms, Massachusetts. Henry Nicholas and the Familists. (A study of the influence of continental mysticism on the Church in Engand to 1660.) New College, Edinburgh: Divinity, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1956.

Harold E. King, R.R. #1, New Castle, Indiana. The Quaker Doctrine of the Holy Spirit. (Based on the writings of George Fox, Elias Hicks, Joseph John Gurney, Dougan Clark, and Rufus M. Jones.)

Fred Lewis Ryon, N. 5313 Regal Street, Spokane 28, Washington. From Slave Block to Quaker Evangelist: Memoirs of William Allen, Negro Missionary Preacher of the Society of Friends. (Focusing on the two years, 1882-84, when Fred Ryon traveled in the ministry with William Allen.) Being edited by T. Canby Jones, Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio.

Ellen B. Sehgal, 5635 Riverdale, New York 71, N. Y. The Social Outlook of A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney-General. Columbia University: Political Science, thesis for M.A. degree. 1956.

R. Ursula Somervell, 18 Mount Pleasant, Cambridge, England. Betty Fothergill, Quaker. (The life and background of the seventeen-year-old niece of Dr. John Fothergill, who wrote a journal during a visit to him in London.) Ready for publication.

Simon Ting, Mansfield College, Oxford, England. A comparative Study of Mysticism in Rufus Jones and Lao Tzu. Oberlin Graduate School: Philosophy of Religion, thesis for M.A. degree. 1950.

Amy E. Wallis, Morland, 26 Abbey Road, Darlington, England.

(1) Notes on the Place portraits of William and Hannah Penn.

(2) Notes on Anthony Pearson.

Robert C. Wheatley, 28 East Washington Avenue, Pleasantville, New Jersey. Religious Immediacy in Radical Seventeenth-Century Puritanism. (A study of the theological basis of the "inner light" of George Fox in relation to the various expressions current at the time of the immanence of God and the work of the Holy Spirit.) University of Edinburgh: Theology, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1956.

# Historical News

## Friends Historical Association

The Annual Meeting of Friends Historical Association was held on Eleventh Month 26, 1956 at the Race Street Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, as part of the observance of the hundredth anniversary of the erection of the building. Thomas E. Drake presided. He was surrounded on the facing benches by many Friends dressed in plain Quaker costume, many of them representing early members of Race Street Monthly Meeting. (William Bacon Evans represented himself, however, and C. Marshall Taylor, impersonating John Greenleaf Whittier, announced that this was the first time he had ever been inside this meetinghouse.) A number of women Friends wearing Quaker wedding gowns dating from the middle of the last century to the present added a special note of interest to the proceedings.

Thomas Drake announced with regret the resignation of William Mintzer Wills as Treasurer of the Association. The meeting expressed its deep appreciation of the diligent and faithful service of William M. Wills over the past nine years.

Richmond P. Miller delivered the address of the evening, an abstract of which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN.

The meeting was arranged by the Entertainment Committee in close co-operation with the planning committee appointed by Race Street Monthly Meeting, and was attended by 370 persons. The historical exhibit prepared by the local committee attracted a great deal of attention.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the year Eleventh Month 1, 1955 to Tenth Month 31, 1956

RECEIPTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dues | | | |
| Current | $1,878.00 | | |
| Arrears | 162.00 | | |
| Advance | 15.00 | | |
| | | 2,055.00 | |
| *Bulletins* | 428.68 | | |
| Royalties & Advertising | 50.85 | | |
| | | 479.53 | |
| Income from Investments | | | |
| Regular | 355.00 | | |
| Lydia F. Gummere Fund | 3.00 | | |
| | | 358.00 | |
| Gifts | | | |
| Voluntary | 185.50 | | |
| Lydia F. Gummere Fund | 88.00 | 273.50 | |
| | | 3,166.03 | |
| Balance from 1954-55 | | 2,731.86 | |
| Total receipts | | | 5,897.89 |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Annual Meeting, 1955 | 148.20 | | |
| Spring Meeting, 1956 | 84.09 | | |
| *Bulletin* (two issues) | 1,402.42 | | |
| Editor's Fee | 300.00 | | |
| Editor's Fee—Index | 80.00 | | |
| Investments | 261.81 | | |
| Miscellaneous | 195.57 | | |
| Total disbursements | | | 2,472.09 |
| Cash balance on deposit at Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank | | | 3,425.80 |
| Reserved for | | | |
| Publications and Index | 295.75 | | |
| General Expenses | 3,130.05 | | |

Respectfully submitted

William Mintzer Wills
Treasurer

Examined and found correct
Edward R. Moon
George Vaux, Auditors

# Book Reviews

*The Beginnings of Quakerism.* By William C. Braithwaite. Second edition, revised by Henry J. Cadbury. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. 1955. xxviii, 607 pages. $4.75.

William C. Braithwaite has written a book which was and remains the standard treatment of the beginnings of Quakerism. He combined in remarkable measure enthusiasm for his subject with rigorous research and utter candor in presentation. He was a Quaker who profoundly admired the early Friends. His pages are vibrant with the recital of their words and deeds, but he did not scruple to record their foibles and aberrations. Attention is called to the dangerously exuberant language of Margaret Fell, and the fall of Nayler is recounted not merely as the lapse of an individual, but as a pitfall to which the entire movement was prone.

This work, like every other, is written from a point of view. Braithwaite knew Quakerism better than he knew Puritanism. He did not realize, on the one hand, the degree to which the the "enthusiasm" of Puritanism paralleled that of Quakerism, as Geoffrey Nuttall has made us aware. Much less did Braithwaite perceive the degree to which Quakerism is a phase of Puritanism. There is one very important respect. Puritanism, as the English expression of Calvinism, was not so despondent with regard to man as Braithwaite and Rufus Jones supposed. (Incidentally, Rufus Jones wrote the preface to the first edition of this work.) Puritanism operated with the paradox that though man as man is utterly depraved, nevertheless, men can erect on this earth a holy commonwealth, a divine society, a semblance of God's Kingdom. This is not because men are individually good, but because God is great. And He has determined through His chosen ones to bring His purpose to pass. The holy commonwealth of the Puritans in New England and the holy experiment of the Quakers in Pennsylvania did not fundamentally differ in their ruling ideas.

Again, Braithwaite failed adequately to see Quakerism in the context of English history and world events, because he was preoccupied with the inner life of the society. Take for example the Nayler episode. Braithwaite endeavors to understand Nayler, to explain how such a debacle could have come about, and to trace the effects upon the Society of Friends. But Braithwaite does not perceive the significance of the episode in the struggle for religious liberty. The defeat of the death penalty for Nayler was a milestone. Parliament was convinced that he was a blasphemer. By almost universal consent until then blasphemy, even more than heresy, was punished by death. Martin Luther had made the distinction. Heresy, that is,

false opinion, he would not penalize; but blasphemy, that is, a public affront to God or revealed truth, he would punish by the infliction of death. Nayler by his dramatic entry into Bristol as Messiah had affronted the uniqueness of Christ and insulted the majesty of God. Nevertheless, though Parliament inflicted a frightful penalty, he was not put to death and that makes of the Cromwellian era a landmark in the history of liberty.

The theology of early Quakerism receives scant attention because Braithwaite believed that enthusiasm and action are alone significant and the intellectual side of religion is unimportant. But the early Quakers did have a theology and their religious ideas have lately been the object of a number of studies.

Had a complete rewriting of the book been feasible, the point of view would have been altered and the results of more recent research would have been incorporated; but such drastic treatment would not have been fair to the original, and a lengthy discussion would have made the book unwieldy. Henry Cadbury in his editing has restricted himself to notes and appendices, together with a bibliographical account of the research of the last forty and more years since the appearance of the work.

If attention in this review has focused on the subsequent enlargement of knowledge and the shift in point of view, it is only to warn the reader that he is not to treat this book as if it had been written in 1955. At the same time, one must reiterate that there is no finer treatment of the subject. The research on Quakerism proper stands up under subsequent investigation, though the context needs to be expanded. The quotations from early Friends are copious, representative, and exact. Anyone who would go more deeply into the subject must start here, and anyone desiring an introduction cannot find a better.

*Yale Divinity School* Roland H. Bainton

*William Penn: A Biography.* By Catherine Owens Peare. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1957. 448 pages. $6.00.

"He is eternally our contemporary, holding before us the finest traditions of Anglo-Saxon law, showing us the fruits of liberty of conscience, pointing the way to lasting freedom through individual dignity and endowing us with the example of a workable peace among men. William Penn speaks to the condition of our times."

With this fine and true statement Catherine Owens Peare concludes her excellent biography of Pennsylvania's founder and one of the earliest and most creative leaders of the Society of Friends. It is a complete, substantial, well-founded, eminently readable biography which may well be called definitive. It is moreover sympathetic to Penn and understanding of Quakerism, as those two fairly recent biographies by Bonamy Dobrée and C. E. Vulliamy were not.

It is based on a wide research, which has taken the author not only to London but to Ireland, Holland, and Germany, has delved into the Public Record Office in London and the municipal records of several German

cities, as well as historical collections in England and the United States. She has examined all the evidence carefully and judiciously. She has included in the book much interpretative material that places the central figure not only in places where we can see him against the background of contemporary landscape and social milieu but also in the historical and political currents of thought and action. The tensions of the Commonwealth period, the politics of the Restoration, the emergence of Whiggism are part of the tapestry of Penn's life and these threads are clearly traced.

The result is a portrait of a warm, living, and dynamic personality, a man both human and great, a practical idealist who was able to make—and make the most of—a unique opportunity for turning the course of history. There has been for so long, even among Friends, a tendency to underestimate Penn, to focus on his weaknesses, his errors in judgment of character, his carelessness of detail, his friendship with royalty, his later and quite understandable irascibility, his spate of words, that it is particularly heart-warming to have at last a biography in which these weaknesses, while reported, are seen in their proper proportion to the really extraordinary achievements and insights of one of the true giants of English and American history, a man who was motivated not by self-interest but by a vision of the kingdom of God on earth—and who had the intellect and the power as well as the heart necessary to carry it into effect. "Governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments," he wrote—and it was the men who poured into Pennsylvania after him that changed and warped his Holy Experiment in the end.

Catherine Peare has done full justice to those well-known and moving parts of Penn's story: his colorful youth, his convincement, the conflict with the father whom he loved and disappointed, his imprisonment in the Tower of London, the great trial scene, his love for Guli Springett, his vision for Pennsylvania and his Great Charter, his dealings with the Indians, and his second courtship, with love letters hitherto unpublished. She has also shed light on the tragedy that cast a shadow over the last years of his life and indeed on his subsequent reputation: the betrayal of him by his steward, Philip Ford, when, without realizing what he did, he signed away his title to Pennsylvania. Without minimizing his carelessness, she has shown how it could happen in the long history of trust and dependence on a fellow Quaker by a man hurried and harried by too many affairs. She has illuminated also Penn's genuine friendship with James II and the sagacity of his advice to that "self-willed, short-sighted man." She points up effectively the similarities between those days and our own, especially in regard to the pressures on civil liberties and the need for dedicated men to stand out against the crowd.

One notices in the writing occasional infelicities of expression, such as the "lovely homes" built by some of the first Philadelphians, Pepys's need of "jollying up," the fairly frequent use of nouns as verbs, as in the phrase "to football" a topic back and forth. But these are very minor blemishes.

This is a book that should be in every Quaker library and read by every student of American history.

*Philadelphia* ELIZABETH GRAY VINING

*James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America.* By Frederick B. Tolles. Boston: Little, Brown. 1957. xi, 228 pages. $3.50.

Probably no man exerted greater influence in Pennsylvania in the first half of the eighteenth century than James Logan. Secretary to William Penn, member of the Governor's Council, chief justice, acting lieutenant-governor, he was for fifty years a careful adminstrator of the Penns' viceroyalty, a statesman of imperial vision, and, in his own phrase, a scholar in the wilds of America. We have long needed a good biography of this man, and now we have one.

In this scholarly, readable life Frederick Tolles shows Logan watching over the interests of the Proprietors with single-minded devotion, relates how he fashioned an Indian policy that was decisive for England in the continuing struggle with France for possession of the west, reveals the Quaker virtuoso in the quiet of Stenton building a great library, corresponding with the learned in Europe, writing authoritatively on plant fertilization, encouraging Thomas Godfrey and young Benjamin Franklin. There are scenes of unconscious humor—Logan explaining the principles of international trade to the Conestoga Indians, who had complained they were underpaid for the furs they trapped and overcharged for the goods they must buy. And throughout the book the author gives snatches from the hard, honest prose Logan, David Lloyd, and their contemporaries knew how to use.

As a public official Logan comprehended at once the inherent contradiction in a state where force should not be employed, saw that the Quaker rulers could not solve the practical and moral dilemmas by putting the execution of police and defense measures in the hands of magistrates otherwise principled. As early as 1703, therefore, Logan urged Penn to surrender the government of the colony to the Crown; subsequently he urged his coreligionists to surrender their political control. Meanwhile he served the Proprietors loyally, making an outstanding best of his difficult role, acquired a fortune, built a great house, sired a family. His career was a triumph of ability, as Mr. Tolles makes clear, for he was never popular—not with the Friends, for his attachment to Quaker principles had limitations; not with the aggressive democracy, because he was outspoken for aristocracy and the Proprietors' man.

Every page of this book reveals the wide and deep knowledge of the sources on which it is based. What is more, every page is marked by a masterful compression, the extraction of the essence from the manuscripts. A phrase in judgment, a statement in a sentence rest on studies that might have produced a chapter. Such a book as this is usually not written until after an exhaustive work has been published. In this case that work remains still in Mr. Tolles' head and notes. Students of colonial America should

be grateful for the good things they get—like Mr. Tolles' *Logan*—yet they will wish that the first modern biography of James Logan had been twice as long.

*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia and New Haven.* WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.

*John Scott of Amwell.* By Lawrence D. Stewart. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956. xi, 236 pages. $3.50.

Aside from the scholarly interest and importance of this book, Friends will read it as a delicately and significantly documented and reasoned study of the contest between the quietistic and the social ideals of eighteenth-century Quakerism in the heart of a minor poet who was deeply committed to the tradition of his faith and at the same time deeply moved by the new current in sensibility which was to culminate in the poetry of Wordsworth. The story of the spiritual struggle is not overdramatized, but this new record of Scott's spiritual pilgrimage does escape the limitations of the early life by John Hoole, which Mr. Stewart not unfairly calls "pedantic, dull, wearisome, and uninformative."

There were really two struggles in Scott's life—both of them inward, for his outward experience was not dramatic. His education centered around the home of his well-to-do father in Amwell in Hertfordshire; it stopped far short of the university though it was continued by the cultivation of literary interests with a few friends, the sister of one of whom Scott married in 1767, when he was in his thirty-eighth year; and its inevitable result was to develop "the conventional youth" and "the timid poet" who are the subjects of Mr. Stewart's two opening chapters. The attachments of these early years committed the boy to be the father of the man who was John Scott of Amwell, and to be the author of *Amwell: A Descriptive Poem,* which he was not willing to regard as ready for publication until 1776. "It took him the larger part of his life to outgrow his teachers," says Mr. Stewart (p. 16); his "completely imitative genius" found perhaps its best nurture, though a confining one, in the "hothouse air of pseudo-intellectualism" in the circle of friends frequenting the home of the wealthy maltster in Amwell.

For lovers of poetry, the inward struggle in Scott's life that is of greatest interest was his wavering attraction to the conventional themes and forms of the eighteenth century which stimulated him to write his early pastorals and to the romantic charm of verse like that published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1754 as "occasioned by the Description of the *AEOLIAN HARP.*" Mr. Stewart traces the telltale notes of that harp through much of his later work, but at the same time we are shown that those notes were not merely sentimental. As years passed, Scott developed a critical theory of his own, and—while Mr. Stewart apologizes for it as having been based upon "a rather inexact notion of what is poetry" (p. 173)—we are given good evidence that Scott's innate poetic gift and careful, sensitive cultivation of his talent perhaps enabled him to "pass on

to Wordsworth . . . the basic notion that a precise observation can produce a precise image" (p. 15). So we are finally left with the thought that Scott combined the feeling of a religious devotee of nature like Izaak Walton in the seventeenth century with the sensuously more perceptive (if not spiritually more delicate) response to nature that we have in Wordsworth's poems.

For Friends whose interest is less in poetry than it is in the growth of the humanitarian concerns of the Society in the last two centuries, the most important struggle in Scott's inward life was between his single-hearted, youthful devotion to his Quaker faith and the growing interest in public affairs which resulted in his outgrowing of the romantic aestheticism so extravagantly expressed in his construction of the famous grotto in his garden at Amwell, and in his writing in his later years of influential studies like his article on "the Present State of the Parochial and Vagrant Poor" in the *London Magazine* in 1773. In his later years he gave most of his energy to the work underlying his "Digest of the Present Act for Amendment of the Highways" in the *Monthly Review* in January 1774. His interests took him frequently into London society and into contact with Dr. Johnson, who was amazed at "that most impossible of combinations, a Whig who was a member of the Society of Friends." In Scott's last years the conflict between his quietistic religious inheritance, his poetic ambitions, and his humanitarian concerns resulted in some grief, which is the sad and difficult subject of Mr. Stewart's final chapter. The work is well done, without slighting or overstressing the psychological significance of some bitter moments near the end.

*The University of Wisconsin* Merritt Y. Hughes

# Briefer Notices

By Henry J. Cadbury

Merton L. Dillon published in *Michigan History,* 39 (1955), 481-494, an article on "Elizabeth Chandler and the Spread of Antislavery Sentiment in Michigan." Elizabeth M. Chandler (1807-1834) came at the age of twenty-three to the newly gathered Raisin River settlement in Lewanee County and became the inspirer of the first group of antislavery advocates among Friends. She was a voluminous writer of poetry and essays and from these collected works and the correspondence in the Chandler papers at the University of Michigan this article is compiled.

* * *

Samuel Booth Sturgis is the author of a pamphlet *(Publications* of the Penn Club, Vol. 1, No. 1 [1956], 13 pages) on "Huguenot Source of William Penn's Ideal of Religious Tolerance." He indicates the difference between Penn's views of tolerance and those of Fox and finds that they rest on the teachings of Moïse Amyraut, with whom Penn studied, 1662-1664, at the very tolerant Huguenot University at Saumur. Amyraut had come to believe in something very much like the Inner Light of the Friends. He opposed predestination of the kind that made toleration of Huguenots impossible for Calvinists and Catholics. The suggestive paper does not claim to represent original research, but it invites others to investigate this possible clue to the origin of the peculiarly Pennsylvanian brand of tolerance.

* * *

Peter C. Welsh writes in *Delaware History,* 7 (1956), 17-36, on the "Brandywine Mills: a Chronicle of an Industry, 1762-1862." These important pioneer mills were owned by Quakers. The information given about them includes, besides local records, the reports of an unusual number of successive visitors.

* * *

Sterling College *Faculty Bulletin* (Sterling, Kansas, October 1955, pp. 5-7) contains a brief collection of unfamiliar facts about "Charles Lamb and the Quakers" by George A. Dunlap, including his friendship for some of the Lloyd family as well as for Bernard Barton and some of his whimsical as well as his appreciative reactions to Quakerism. The author concludes: "Charles Lamb's Quaker writings . . . have provided the Society of Friends with excellent free publicity ever since their first publication in 1821." Compare the fuller article in this Bulletin, 43 (1954), 67-83, by Warren Beck.

A very brief article by an experienced genealogist appears in *The Genealogists' Magazine* (London), 12 (1955), (120-122): "The New England Visit of William Edmondson, the Quaker," by G. Andrews Moriarty. It deals mainly with the debate of Roger Williams with Edmondson and two other Quakers. Unfortunately it is not free from errors or misprints.

* * *

An address delivered by Frederick B. Tolles before the Welcome Society has been printed in pamphlet format (1955, 10 pages). The title is *James Logan: A Canterbury Pilgrim,* the latter phrase a bit of "calculated impertinence" to the hearers. The versatility and importance of Logan are interpreted partly in comparison with Penn who preceded and Franklin who followed him as leaders in Pennsylvania.

* * *

Another aspect of Logan is described by Frederick B. Tolles and appears appropriately in *Isis,* 47 (1956), 20-30, entitled "Philadelphia's First Scientist: James Logan." It deals with his scientific reading as attested by his famous library and by his numerous contributions to the Royal Society in its *Philosophical Transactions* in the field of optics as well as of botany.

* * *

*The Civilian and the Military* by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, 340 pages) is a history of the anti-militarist tradition in the United States. The role which Friends have played as individuals and as a Society is duly recognized. One is glad to make the acquaintance of Representative Isaac Sherwood of Ohio, who became a Friend after participating in forty battles in the Civil War and who said in a debate on a naval bill in 1910 that what the country needed more than anything else was "more Quakers and fewer battleships."

* * *

The encouragement given by the Quaker bachelor poet to the great outcropping of American authoresses a century ago is the theme of an article on "Whittier and the 'Feminine Fifties'," by Joseph M. Ernest, Jr., in *American Literature,* 28 (1956), 184-196. Ransacking the major collections of Whittier correspondence, the writer has shown how he encouraged or commended to others over a score of women from the 1830's to the 1890's—not only poets, but prose writers and novelists. The "Feminine Fifties," as F. L. Pattee calls that era in a book of this title, "would not have been so feminine, nor the sixties, seventies and eighties either" without this friendly but not susceptible Friend. Perhaps it traces back in part to the Quaker testimony in other fields to the equality of women.

*Colby Library Quarterly* (February 1956) prints in full a letter of John Greenleaf Whittier to an unknown Westerner identifying a character in *Snowbound* as Miss Harriet Livermore, daughter of Judge Edward St. Loe Livermore of New Hampshire. The letter, in the Colby College Library, is dated Eleventh Month 18, 1870.

* * *

Nathanael Greene's letters to "Friend Sammy" Ward, edited by Clifford P. Monahon and Clarkson A. Collins, 3rd., have been published in *Rhode Island History,* 15 (1956), 1-10, 46-54.

* * *

Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, has published a collection of the Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures, 1951-1956, in a volume of more than local interest (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1956, 256 pages) entitled *"John and Mary's College."* One of the lectures is by F. B. Tolles and deals with "John Dickinson and the Quakers" (pp. 60-88). The lecturer seeks to "pin down" the often-remarked but elusive Quaker influence on Dickinson and in the process to "shed light on some of the dark places in the career of this great but neglected American . . . particularly on the major puzzle of his political career—that 'wonderful transformation' which, near the end of his long life, produced what his baffled biographer [C. J. Stillé] calls his 'peculiar democracy'."

* * *

A pamphlet appropriately published in 1949, "the Goethe year," and at Bad Pyrmont, Germany (Friedrich Gersbach, 41 pages) deals with *Goethe in Pyrmont.* The author, Walther Lampe, draws upon his fuller article of the same title in *Archiv für Landes- und Volkskunde in Niedersachsen,* 1941, pp. 35 ff. There is brief mention of Goethe's attendance at the Quaker meetings and quotation of his impressions of them (p. 16).

* * *

Frederick J. Tritton with help from others and especially from an unpublished paper of 1891 by John Harris has compiled an attractive pamphlet, *Three Hundred Years of Quakerism in Kingston-upon-Thames* (September 1956, 12 pages). The first meeting place in a private home was replaced about 1674 by a meetinghouse, but the present house on Eden Street was built in 1773. It has had many alterations. These and other incidents of the meeting's history are typical of Quaker history in the large.

* * *

Don Yoder, writing on "Plain Dutch and Gay Dutch" in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman,* Vol. 8, No. 1 (Summer 1956), 34-55, has a good deal to say about the influence of Quakers on the thought, practices, and especially the costume of the Amish and other conservative Mennonites in America.

An unusually full account of a Friends' property is that by James Murphy on "The Old Quaker Meeting House in Hackins Hey, Liverpool" in the *Transactions* of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 106 (1954), 79-98. Although the meeting began a half century earlier and continues to the present day, the house was used from about 1710 to 1791 for local and General meetings. Until 1861 when the property was sold, it was used by Friends or others for a school. As the eighty-seven footnotes show, this article is based on the careful use of a great variety of records.

* * *

Under the title *The People Called Quakers* (15 pages, published by Oregon Yearly Meeting, Portland), Arthur O. Roberts has written what is perhaps intended to be a corrective of an article lately in *Look*. It is written from the evangelical and pastoral standpoint, but it does not overlook the existence of more liberal or non-pastoral Quakerism. It contains unfortunately some errors of fact, which, however, do not interfere with its main apologetic purpose.

* * *

The long history of a Quaker business concern in Birmingham, England, *Barrow's, A Store Record 1824-1949* (44 pages), was published in 1949 to celebrate two anniversaries: 125 years since John Cadbury founded his tea and coffee warehouse on Bull Street, and 100 years since his nephew Richard Cadbury Barrow took it over from his uncle and gave it his name. The booklet is illustrated with charts and pictures, including portraits of several of the successive Quaker directors.

* * *

The undenominational Amsterdam religious weekly *In de Waagschaal* published an article by Rudolf Boon on "George Fox: Mysticus, Vader der Quakers" (10 [1955], 1056-57, 1067-68). It deals with the Puritan background, and contrasts Fox's openings.

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Two articles on Quakerism in Denmark (and Norway) were published in recent years by Bjørn Kornerup in *Kirkhistoriske Samlinger*. The first, "Kvæker-Propaganda i Danmark og Norge i ældere Tid," discusses evidence going back to 1657 and continues up to about 1750 with a good deal of emphasis on Christopher Meidel. It is in 6th Series, 6 (1948-50), 216-271. The other (7th Series, 1 [1951-53], 109-171) is "To Kvæker-Besog i Danmark i det 19. Aarhundrede." It deals with the visits to Denmark of Thomas Shillitoe and of Elizabeth Fry and her brother Joseph John Gurney.

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Edwin Wolf, 2nd, has written an article that all bibliophiles will appreciate, "The Romance of James Logan's Books," in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 13 (1956), 342-353. It is not merely the present

custodian's enthusiasm which leads him to describe the library which this Quaker scientist, linguist, and scholar bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia as "the greatest single intellectual monument of colonial America which has survived." Association copies are mentioned and the influence of some of its books on Franklin.

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The story called, "A Quaker Concern," in *The New Yorker* (December 1, 1956), 46-48, signed Mary Louise Aswell, has much authentic Quaker anecdote and color. It deals with the author's Quaker grandmother, a mixture of old-fashioned piety and common sense.

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An attractively written and illustrated brochure, *A Century of Race Street Meeting House, 1856-1956* (1956, 36 pages), by Frances Williams Browin, was issued by Central Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to mark the centennial in November 1956. Full account is given of the reasons leading to the building with its mixed ownership by Monthly and Yearly Meetings and of the adjacent Quaker institutions, Friends Central School and the Young Friends Association. But the life within the buildings is not ignored or overshadowed by attention to matters of real estate. There are vivid descriptions of incident and social life, meeting procedures, and Quaker garb. The fusion of men's and women's Yearly Meetings is explained, but the union with Arch Street is scarcely mentioned or the Philadelphia General Meeting which preceded the union. Of these important steps the centenarian building has also been a witness and a host.

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The seventh Ward Lecture was given in 1956 by Frederick B. Tolles on *Quakerism and Politics* and printed in pamphlet form (Guilford College, North Carolina, 24 pages), uniform with its predecessors. It analyzes the tension between two positions—eager idealistic participation by Friends in political life and withdrawal because of the fear of compromise. It is fully and skillfully illustrated with historical situations and attempts to arrive at a satisfactory prophetic role for Friends.

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Laurie Hillyer writing in *Yankee,* a New England magazine, for December 1956, pp. 40-46, on "Friends for 300 Years," contrasts the careers of Mary Dyer and Rufus Jones, and the attitudes towards Quakerism, which each experienced from the public.

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A tantalizingly fragmentary draft letter from John Bartram to Peter Collinson unearthed by the late Dr. Edward E. Wildman and by Francis D. West seems to indicate that in 1739, four years before Franklin's proposal that led to the founding of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, Bartram was recommending such an organization. The evidence for this is published by Francis D. West in *Pennsylvania History,* 23 (1956), 463-466.

*Kees Boeke* is the cover title of an illustrated seventieth-birthday tribute (privately printed, 1956, 183 pages) to a Dutch engineer who became "a Quaker missionary, an international pacifist and finally the founder of a highly successful progressive school" at Bilthoven, Holland. Roughly the first half of the book is a short account in English of the lives and work of Kees and Betty (neé Beatrice Cadbury) Boeke, written by Wyatt Rawson. This is followed by briefer notices on different phases of their influence, mostly in Dutch.

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Writing on "The Quakers and the English Revolution" in *Past and Present,* No. 10 (November 1956), 39-54, Alan Cole attempts to trace the changes in Quaker attitudes to political issues in Great Britain up to 1688. This is a delicate task, involving an appraisal and perhaps a generalization of the attitude of Friends at various periods to radical economic views, pacifism, the struggles of the Protectorate and interregnum, and the conflict between King and Parliament, Whig and Tory, etc. This essay gives with detailed references, including many minor pamphlets of the first decade of Quakerism, the meat of the author's doctoral dissertation, The Quakers and Politics, 1652-1660. See this BULLETIN, 45:38.

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In *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 81 (1957), 70-82, Henry J. Cadbury follows earlier articles in the same magazine on Gulielma Penn and her children by similar notes on her successor, Hannah Callowhill. They deal with her age or date of birth, an early pregnancy before that of her first child born, and the rather gossipy objection by some Friends to Penn's marriage with her.

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In an ambitious effort to trace the relation between the changed religious emphasis and the effect on prose style, Jackson I. Cope writes on "Seventeenth-Century Quaker Style" in the *Publications* of the Modern Language Association of America, 71 (1956), 725-754. In Quakerism's first heyday the hortatory pieces by Fox and his associates exhibited an "incantatory" style with lavish use of metaphors and excessive repetition. The age of plainness came when "George Fox established the Second Day's Morning Meeting in London." It censored new manuscripts, stamping out everything that savored of "enthusiasm," and even rewrote older works when reprinting them. The article combines some fresh and observant remarks with generalizations of a more doubtful accuracy; but the field is after all a rather new one—"the religious body most neglected by modern students of prose form."

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An article written by Henry J. Cadbury for *World Youth,* the international magazine, was published at Budapest in several languages. The following is the description of the French edition, "Les Vues du Quakerisme," *Jeunesse du monde,* N.S. 10e Annee No. 9 (1956), 21.

# Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By Lyman W. Riley

*The Friend*

L. Hugh Doncaster describes briefly the character and accomplishments of Samuel Gurney, "prince of merchants," brother of Joseph John Gurney and Elizabeth Fry.—June 22, 1956, pp. 563-564.

"Tercentenary of a Meeting," by Frederick J. Tritton, tells of the establishment and some of the subsequent history of Kingston-upon-Thames Meeting.—Sept. 21, 1956, pp. 834-835.

*Friends Journal*

Edwin B. Bronner writes of "William Penn—Prophet of the Future," calling him, despite his faults, a great man and a great Quaker. The article is a shortened version of the 1956 Sunderland P. Gardiner Lecture at Canada Yearly Meeting.—June 30, 1956, pp. 406-407.

In "The Biddles of Swarthmore College" Mary Sullivan Patterson lists the ten members of this family who, through four generations, served on the Board of Managers of Swarthmore College.—July 14, 1956, pp. 439-440.

"Moss Rose and 'The Peaceable Kingdom'" are paintings by Friends —the first by William Pegg of England, on china, the second by Edward Hicks of Pennsylvania, on canvas. Bliss Forbush says that each had an uneasy conscience about such an un-Friendly use of his talents; Pegg finally gave up painting but Hicks did not.—Sept. 15, 1956, pp. 591-592

Robert M. Crane presents, in "Growth and Strength in the Written Word," a brief survey of seventeenth-century Quaker literature.—Sept. 22, 1956, pp. 605-607.

In "Friendly Philately" Maurice A. Mook describes in an informative way the issue of fourteen stamps commemorating Friends.—Nov. 3, 1956, pp. 703-704.

Edmund Goerke recalls the story of "Quakers in Hungary—1662." William Moore and John Philly while on a religious visit to a Hutterite community in Hungary were arrested by the authorities as spies and suffered imprisonment for over a year.—Dec. 1, 1956, p. 771.

*The Friends' Quarterly*

George W. Edwards outlines the history of "Friends' Meetings in Westminster" during three centuries, 1656-1956.—July, 1956, pp. 125-128.

Richard K. Ullmann makes a careful distinction between truth as objective factual knowledge and truth embodied in a life, or "the truth in which I find myself." He points out, in "The Meaning of 'Truth' Among Early Friends," that early Friends fairly consistently used the word "truth" in its profounder sense.—July, 1956, pp. 129-134.

"Robert Lovell, the Quaker Pantisocrat" died in 1796 at Bristol at the age of twenty-four. Rayne Nickalls gives the little that is known of him —his association with Coleridge and Southey in planning their "Pantisocracy" in America, his marriage, and his death. She also prints one of his sonnets.—July, 1956, pp. 135-138.

"George Fox's Conception of the Church," according to Lewis Benson, was an integral part of his message from the very beginning of his ministry. He preached the "gospel order" given by Christ and governed by him, into which all Christians must be caught up.—Oct., 1956, pp. 154-163.

Ursula Somervill, in "A Quaker Minister Meets George Whitfield," presents two excerpts from the James Jenkins Manuscript Records of Friends House Library. One describes the Quaker minister Rachel Wilson, the other an interview between her and George Whitefield in which Whitefield expresses admiration for and some envy of the Quaker method of ministry.—Oct., 1956, pp. 186-187.

### *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*

Publication of the "A. R. Barclay MSS" is continued from Vol. 44. Writers and recipients of these seventeenth-century letters are Francis Howgill, George Fox, Esther Biddle, John Smith, William Storrs, Samuel Hooton, William Gibson, Ellis Hookes, John Stubbs, Elizabeth Hooton, Isaac Rush, Ralph Frettwell, Mary Hampton, Laurence Steele, William Edmondson, Margaret Fox, and Charles Kerr, second Earl of Ancram.—46 (1954), 78-91. Additional letters by Richard Pindar, George Fox, Thomas Ellis, John Audland, Robert Sandilands, and Thomas Robertson are presented in Vol. 47 (1955), 78-87.

Irene L. Edwards' 1954 Presidential Address to the Society, "The Women Friends of London," examines in detail the activities of the Two-Weeks and Box Meetings, from about 1660 to 1890. The women's meetings were designed principally to help needy Friends and others.—47 (1955), 3-21.

"Bristol Friends and the Friars Meeting House" by Margaret H. Simpson describes the founding of the Bristol Meeting, the building of the first meetinghouse in 1699 and the erection of a new one in 1747-1749. The article is accompanied by a note by Hubert Lidbetter on the architecture of the 1749 meetinghouse.—47 (1955), 22-37.

"Esther Biddle and Her Mission to Louis XIV" by Lydia L. Rickman presents documentary evidence confirming the story of the mission

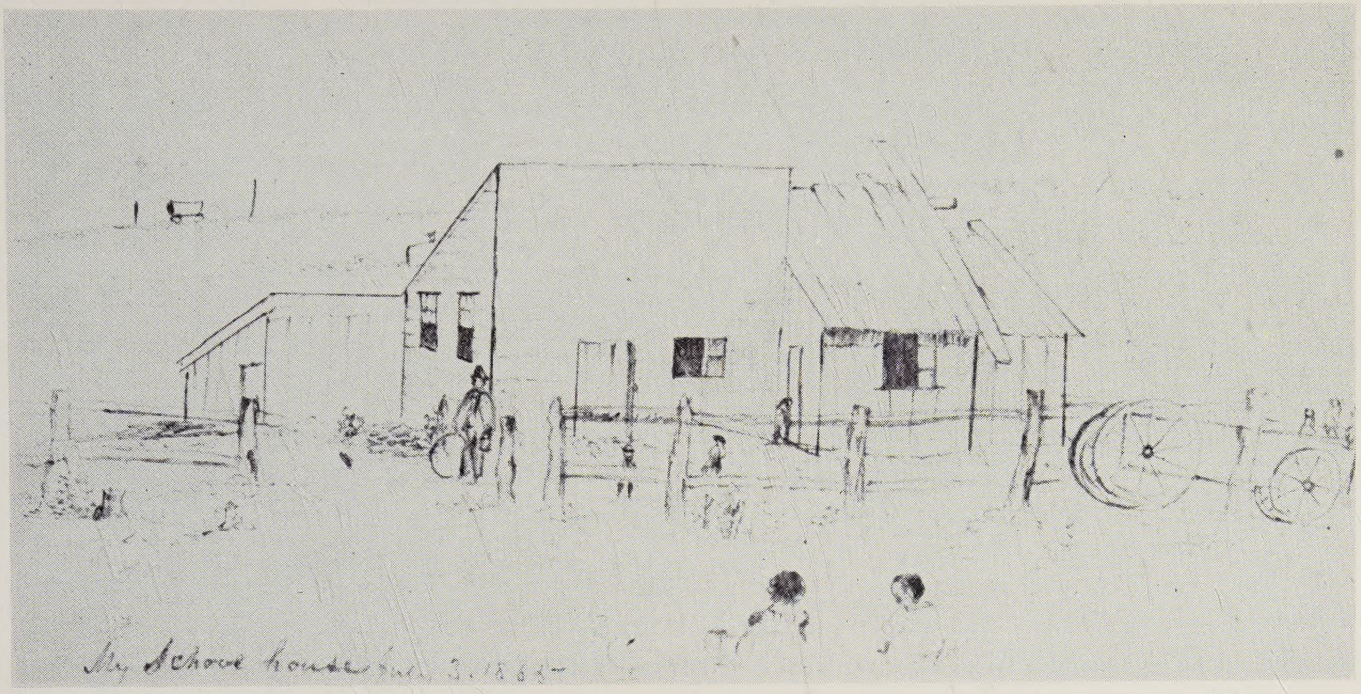
and also gives much other information about this early Friend.—47 (1955), 38-45.

Frederick B. Tolles describes in detail "Some Unpublished Works of John Whiting," six manuscripts now in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. In one of them Whiting gives an account of a disputation between William Penn and a Baptist minister.—47 (1955), 52-56.

Evelyn S. Whiting supplies notes on "The Yearly Meeting for Wales, 1682-1797," based on a transcript of the original Minute Book made by John R. Hughes. They shed light on individual Welsh Friends and on the rise and fall of the Yearly Meeting. Appended is a list of the places where the Yearly Meeting was held each year of its life.—47 (1955), 57-70.

"The Marriage of Judith Crowley" to Cornelius Ford came only after her rejection of two well-known Quakers, James Logan of Pennsylvania and John Pemberton, English ironmaster. M. W. Flinn relates the story from letters found in a number of collections.—47 (1955), 71-77.

"The Midgely Library, Manchester" was gathered by James Midgely (1787-1852) and given by his heirs to Lancashire and Cheshire Quarterly Meeting. Russell S. Mortimer takes the occasion of the transfer of the Midgely Library to the John Rylands Library to describe a few of the rarer items, some with a distinguished Quaker provenance.—47 (1955), 87-91.




FREEDMEN'S SCHOOL, CAMP TODD, VIRGINIA, 1865
Pencil sketch by Emily Howland
*(Original at Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College)*

TEACHERS' QUARTERS, CAMP TODD, VIRGINIA, 1865
Pencil sketch by Emily Howland
*(Original at Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College)*